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SIR C. OAKELEY'S
SERVICES IN INDIA,
&c.

John C. Oakeley



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Helena Oakeley
from the Editor.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE SERVICES OF

SIR CHARLES OAKELEY, BART.

&c.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE SERVICES OF
SIR CHARLES OAKELEY, BART.

IN INDIA:

CONSISTING OF
A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS,

DRAWN UP BY HIMSELF;

AND

A COLLECTION OF OFFICIAL LETTERS,

AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

EDITED,
WITH NOTES AND AN APPENDIX,
BY HIS SON

HERBERT OAKELEY.

London:
PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR,
BY JAMES & LUKE G. HANSARD & SONS, NEAR LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS:

1829.

(NOT PUBLISHED.)

Liberis autem suis satis amplum patrimonium PATERNI
NOMINIS reliquit.

CICERO: *Orat. pro Domo sua.*

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED
TO
LADY OAKELEY,
WHO,
DURING AN UNION OF NEARLY HALF A CENTURY,
POSSESSED MOST DESERVEDLY
THE ENTIRE AFFECTION AND ESTEEM OF
HIM
WHOSE CHARACTER IT ILLUSTRATES.

P R E F A C E.

THE brief Narrative, which stands first in this volume, was drawn up by my father many years ago, for private circulation, and with a view to the establishment of certain claims, which he was then prosecuting. The Collection of Papers which follows, consists of official letters, and other documents extracted from public records, relative to his services in India, during a period of twenty-seven years. A sketch of his public life being afforded by these materials, combining facts and testimonies highly honourable to his memory, I have been induced to put them together in the present form, for the

gratification of every member of his family, and of a few surviving friends, to whom they will be scarcely less acceptable.

I have added, in an Appendix, a very brief notice of that portion of his life which was passed in retirement, and of those features of his character, the remembrance of which is justly dear to all who were connected with him, and worthy to be transmitted to his future descendants.

H. O.

October 25, 1829.

NARRATIVE,

DRAWN UP BY

SIR CHARLES OAKELEY, BART.

NARRATIVE,

&c.

CHARLES OAKELEY* was appointed a writer on the Madras establishment in October 1766, and arrived at his station on the 6th of June 1767. After serving between five and six years, as an assistant, he was promoted to the office of secretary to the civil department. In May 1777, he was removed to the same situation in the military and political department, where he continued till November 1780. At this period, finding

* He was the second son of the Reverend William Oakeley, and of Christian, daughter of Sir Patrick Strahan; and was born on the 27th of February 1751, at Forton, in the county of Stafford, of which parish his father was rector. At an early age he was placed at Shrewsbury school, and remained there, till, through the kind offices of Lady Clive, (the constant and highly esteemed friend of his father) the nomination to the writership was obtained.—EDIT.

his health much impaired by too sedentary a life, he obtained permission to resign his employment.

Soon afterwards he was called to the exercise of a new and more important trust, by events which require some explanation. Hyder Ally Cawn, late chief of Mysore, invaded the Carnatic in the month of July 1780. His design was so unexpected, and his movement so rapid, that he had advanced within forty miles of Madras before the Company's troops could be assembled, in any force, to oppose him. In this situation he intercepted, and totally cut off, a large detachment on its march to join the main army at Conjeveram. That army was compelled, in consequence, to retreat to Madras: and the country being now left exposed to the power of the invader, he made himself master of Arcot, Ambour, Gingee, Pernacoi!, and almost every other fort of consequence in the western provinces, except Vellore.*

To heighten the danger of that period, while the Company's government was essentially weakened by these conquests, the

* The horrors of this invasion drew forth one of the most celebrated specimens of eloquence in our language. See Burke's Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts. Vol. iv. (8vo.) p. 259, &c.—EDIT.

enemy received great and important accessions of strength; first, by the actual junction of a French force, consisting of near 3000 men, sent from Pondicherry to support him; and afterwards, by the co-operation of a large squadron, and a farther reinforcement of about 2000 land troops. But what contributed, more than any other circumstance, to increase the alarming disproportion between the power of the attack, and the means of resisting it, was, the miserable and inefficient state of those internal resources upon which the government depended for the subsistence and movement of its armies. Hyder's first success had put him in possession of a rich and fertile province, from whence he carried destruction, on all sides, as far as his numerous cavalry could reach. The Nabob's authority yielded so far to the pressure, that he was no longer able to command the obedience of his own officers; and the revenues, still untouched by the enemy, were either so ill managed, or so unfaithfully accounted for, that the public exigencies drew no sensible relief from this source. The army, in the mean time, without money, provisions, or cattle, sufficient for any offensive operation, found itself under the mortifying necessity of limiting its views to the neighbourhood of

Madras : and of depending, for its subsistence, on such scanty supplies as could be furnished from the stores of the garrison.

At this crisis Lord Macartney arrived from England, (in June 1781,) to take charge of the government. After struggling, for some months, with scenes of unexampled difficulty and embarrassment, his Lordship fortunately succeeded in obtaining from the Nabob an assignment of his revenues for the support and expenses of the war. In order to make the collections, and execute other purposes connected with this important trust, a committee was appointed, of which Mr. Oakeley was President ; and these gentlemen entered on their task, in January 1782, when the enemy had already been eighteen months in the Carnatic.

As there appeared no chance of extricating the country from its present danger, but by a full application of its own proper resources to its defence, the public attention was turned, with particular anxiety, towards the progress of the assignment ; and the committee, on their part, felt all that zeal which the exigencies of the time, and the confidence reposed in their exertions, were so well calculated to inspire. In the execution of their charge, however, they soon found they had

to contend, not only with the mischiefs of a destructive enemy seated in the heart of the country, but with the active opposition of the Nabob's own servants, and even with the prejudices of the Nabob himself, whose impatience under the loss of his authority rendered him extremely adverse to the whole proceedings of the assignment. Notwithstanding these multiplied difficulties, the committee, under a firm and unremitting support from government, had the good fortune to realize the most sanguine expectations of their superiors. Every resource, not in the actual possession of the enemy, was brought forward to meet the public necessities. The army was enabled to act with effect, and even to retaliate upon the invader by carrying the war into his territories; and the Carnatic, after a long and arduous contest, was ultimately rescued, by an honourable peace, from the imminent danger with which it had been threatened.*

In the first eighteen months of the war, previous to the assignment, the whole aid contributed by the Nabob towards the common defence, had amounted only to pagodas

* In a paper relative to my father's services on this occasion, Lord Macartney says, that it was "a period of unexampled difficulty and distress."—EDIT.

1,24,100. In three years and a half, the term of the committee's management, the collections amounted to pag^s 43,91,927 ;* and the balances of revenue, outstanding, and delivered over to the Nabob at the surrender of the assignment, in June 1785, amounted to a farther sum of pag^s 7,36,119. From July 1780 to March 1784, when peace was concluded, the most fertile districts of the Carnatic were either in possession of the enemy, or plundered by his numerous cavalry: and even after the war had ceased, the effects of this invasion were long and severely felt, in the loss and dispersion of many useful inhabitants, the want of cattle, implements of tillage, and every other article necessary to the proper cultivation of the country.

It is not simply by the comparative superiority in the amount of collection, great as it appears, that the benefits of this assignment are to be estimated. Had it produced money only, the army might have been paid, but could neither have subsisted nor moved; for the state of the country rendered it utterly impracticable to purchase grain, or cattle, in any proportion adequate to the public wants. The peculiar value of the

* 1,756,770 pounds sterling.

assignment, at that period, consisted in its enabling government both to secure the produce of the country, and to receive it in such articles as were best adapted to the exigencies of the service.

The conduct of the committee, throughout this important undertaking, was honoured by strong and repeated marks of approbation from their own government, and by the public thanks of the Governor-general and Council of Bengal.*

After the surrender of the assignment, Mr. Oakeley was appointed superintendent of the Company's Jaghire lands; and, in April 1786, was placed by the late Sir Archibald Campbell, then Governor, at the head of the board established by him for the collection of all the revenues under the Presidency of Madras. In the first year's management of this new institution, the receipts, which had, in the preceding year, amounted only to pagodas 14,72,128, were increased to pagodas

* It was also complimented by Mr. Burke, in the speech before referred to: "This committee," he says, "was wisely instituted by Lord Macartney, and it seems to have been well chosen." And again, (speaking of the results of their measures): "For realising all this, you may value yourselves on the vigour and diligence of a governor and committee that have done so much."—EDIT.

18,22,975. Before the second year's collection was completed, Mr Oakeley found himself under the necessity of preparing, on account of his family affairs, to return to Europe. He resigned his employment, therefore, and embarked in February 1789.

A few months after his arrival in this country, it was intimated to him, that if he wished to visit India again, he should be recommended to the Honourable Court of Directors for the succession to the government of Madras. His rank in the service at that time being near thirty below council, so marked a distinction was equally flattering and unexpected: yet, as he had now retired, with his family, after a residence of two and twenty years abroad, he felt no inclination whatever to embark again in a distant scene of employment; nor did he entertain such a confidence in his own qualifications as to suppose them adequate to so difficult an undertaking. These objections were urged, with great respect, on his part, but yielded, at length, to the very handsome manner in which the offer was made, and the ample assurances given him of protection and support, in the event of his acceptance.* He

* It was, doubtless, not a little gratifying to my father to know that Mr. Pitt, who was then at the head of His

was appointed, in April 1790, to succeed General Medows, as governor of Fort St. George;* and, as this appointment took place in consequence of a request from Lord Cornwallis to be relieved in the office of Governor-general of Bengal, and the nomination of General Medows for that purpose, the arrangement opened to him the prospect of an immediate succession on his arrival at Madras.

But, in the interval between his appointment and embarkation, advices were received of hostilities committed by Tippoo Sultaun

Majesty's government, concurred in selecting him for this important station; and to be informed by a letter, of which the following is an extract, of the estimation in which his past services were held by that illustrious statesman. (The letter was from Sir Richard Hill, bart. M. P. for Shropshire, and was written to my father soon after his acceptance of the appointment.) " Mr. Pitt wished much to have the
 " pleasure of meeting you, and spoke of your merits and
 " services in such terms as could not but be highly flat-
 " tering to your representative, and caused me still more
 " to rejoice in an appointment, at once so honourable to
 " yourself, and so advantageous to the public." He had afterwards the satisfaction of becoming personally acquainted with Mr. Pitt, at the house of Mr. Dundas.—
 EDIT.

* His Majesty was pleased at the same time, in approbation of his services, to advance him to the dignity of a baronet, and he was gazetted as such on the 5th of June following.—EDIT.

against the Rajah of Travancore, the friend and ally of the Carnatic. This event, it was supposed, would detain Lord Cornwallis some time longer in India, and, of course, postpone the vacancy at Madras. Sir Charles Oakeley, therefore, was placed as second in council at that Presidency,* with authority to take charge of the government on the resignation, or departure, of General Medows.

He arrived at Madras on the 15th of October 1790, and found that the expected rupture with Tippoo Sultaun had commenced some months prior to that period. Lord Cornwallis, with a view to reduce the overgrown power of the Mysore chief, had engaged the Soubah of the Decan, and the Mahratta government, to take part in the war; and General Medows had opened the campaign about the middle of June, as commander of the English forces; and was then employed at the distance of two hundred miles from the Presidency. The administration, in his absence, devolved upon Sir Charles Oakeley, and the Council at Madras;

* He consented to this temporary arrangement, in order to prevent any embarrassment; but he had previously been sworn in as Governor, and virtually went out in that capacity.—EDIT.

and the situation of affairs was such as to call forth all their exertions.

The war had hitherto been successfully directed against Tippoo's southern provinces below the ghauts; but this was not the quarter in which any decisive advantage seemed to be expected; and Tippoo had yet shown no inclination to trust his cause to the issue of a general action. Satisfied with plundering the country, which afforded subsistence to his own troops while it straitened the resources of his enemies, he availed himself of the superiority of his cattle, and the lightness of his equipment, to shun a meeting which he had just reason to fear would be fatal to him. The General, on the other hand, confident in the superior valour and discipline of his army, was anxious to bring the war to that decision, from which he had every thing to hope; but, notwithstanding all the efforts of his zeal, continued through a long and arduous pursuit, he found the attempt totally impracticable. In the mean time the wants of the army, as well as of every other department of the service, became pressing and extensive: the treasury was reduced to the lowest state, and the credit of the Company so completely exhausted, that their bonds at 12 per cent.

the highest legal interest, were at a discount of 5 per cent. Government had, indeed, permission to draw upon Bengal, to any amount: but the opportunities of profiting by this resource were precarious; and, besides the enormous loss upon the exchange, which had risen to 410 Arcot rupees for 100 pagodas, the pressure of these drafts was particularly inconvenient to the finances of Bengal. In order to diminish this burthen, an attempt had been made, just before Sir Charles Oakeley's arrival, to raise money by a subscription loan, at 12 per cent. but, as the bonds, at this interest, were already depreciated by a discount, and the expedient had no other support than the influence possessed by government over persons connected with the service, or deriving advantages from the Company's protection, it produced only a feeble relief, and could not be resorted to a second time.

When public credit sinks under alarm, or misfortunes of any kind, a general want of confidence takes place, and the current specie is rapidly withdrawn from circulation. An artificial scarcity of money was among the difficulties experienced at this juncture; and, though the discount upon the Company's bonds still tempted considerable speculation

in those securities, cautious men kept up their wealth, and were fearful even of showing that they possessed it, lest the influence of government should again be employed to borrow it from them. 'This want of specie, which resulted from a want of credit to command, and keep it in circulation, was not to be removed by fresh importations of gold or silver, had they been practicable, even to any extent; since the moment these new supplies had found their way, through the channels of public expense, into the coffers of individuals, the same scarcity, and from the same cause, must have prevailed again. The only effectual remedy seemed to consist in the restoration of public confidence, under which the precious metals never fail to appear, and circulate with freedom through all the transactions of the community.

Sir Charles Oakeley, and the Council, strongly impressed with this conviction, and sensible that all the pecuniary assistance they could derive from Bengal, or from Europe, would not enable them to meet the public exigencies without an essential improvement in their own internal resources, directed their efforts, principally, to that object. They soon found, notwithstanding the war, that several articles of expense might

be wholly retrenched, or considerably curtailed; and that in the collection of the revenues, material advantages might be drawn from a more economical and efficient administration. To improve the resources still further, Sir Charles Oakeley brought forward a proposition for requiring a subsidy from the Rajah of Travancore, on whose account the war had commenced, and who had yet contributed nothing but the aid of a few troops towards its support. This subsidy, after due inquiry into the state of his revenues, was fixed at ten lacks of rupees per annum, to take place from the period of Tippoo's attack upon his lines in January 1790, and to continue during the war. Another expedient, by which a material saving was made for the Company, and a very extensive, as well as seasonable, supply of specie added to the circulation of the country, was the measure of giving currency to rupees, which were before considered as mere bullion, and purchased only by merchants in small quantities for exportation. As the supplies which came from Bengal and Europe were in silver, an immense loss must have been sustained, and much time required to convert it into pagodas by sale, according to the casual and limited demands of the

market: but, by fixing the value of rupees, and making them current, the whole of this silver was thrown into circulation at its full value. The benefit resulting from this measure was most sensibly felt in all the transactions of the settlement, but particularly in the remittances of specie for the use of the army, which could not, otherwise, have been furnished to half the amount of its demands. The value of the rupees was fixed at the rate of 365 for 100 pagodas. Their price in the market, at that time, was about 380, and credit is taken accordingly for the difference between the actual value and the market price, as a saving to the Company. But, if the whole of the silver received from Bengal and England had gone to market, it must have sold at a price very much below 380, because the quantity was far beyond the demand. The estimate of the saving therefore is probably much under-rated by taking it at the actual price of rupees at the time the silver was received.*

In order that these improvements might have a due effect upon the situation of public

* The specific advantage arising from retrenchments of expense, and other acquisitions to the resources of this period, is shown by an account drawn out at the time, and inserted at the end of this narrative.

credit, another measure was still wanting. The distress for money had hitherto obliged government to confine its payments to the immediate calls of the army, and to postpone the adjustment of all other claims, under the general promise of discharging them as soon as the state of the treasury would permit. A resolution was now taken to put an end to this discreditable practice by a regular payment of every demand upon the public; and Sir Charles Oakeley has the satisfaction to reflect, that this resolution was strictly observed, with the single exception of his own salary; which, from a belief that the forbearance would, at that moment, be of some use, he declined receiving until the conclusion of the war.*

Lord Cornwallis, who had, during the first campaign, directed the objects of the war from the seat of the supreme government at Calcutta, deemed it expedient, at the close of the year 1790, to visit the scene of action himself, chiefly with a view to stimulate the allies to a more vigorous prosecution of the contest. His Lordship brought with him from Bengal a large reinforcement of troops,

* At the time when he set this noble example, he was obliged to take up money for his own current expenses at 12 per cent.—EDIT.

and supplies of every kind ; and having taken the command of the army in person, he opened the second campaign, on the 5th of February 1791, by a rapid movement towards the enemy's country.

His first operation commenced with the siege of Bangalore, which was taken by assault on the 21st of March. This capture placed his Lordship in a situation to facilitate the approach of the allies ; and the Soubah's army, in consequence, joined him on the 7th of April. The present moment appearing favourable for an attempt upon the enemy's capital, preparations were made for that purpose ; and his Lordship, having sent instructions to hasten the arrival of the Mahratta army, proceeded, himself, towards Seringapatam on the 3d of May. The march was, unexpectedly, impeded by inclement weather, and the unfavourable state of the roads. A considerable mortality prevailed among the cattle ; and the public stock of provisions was so much exhausted as to threaten a total failure in that essential article of supply. On the 15th of May, his Lordship obtained a complete victory over the enemy near Seringapatam ; but the Mahrattas having failed to advance according to appointment, and the distresses of the

camp being now arrived at a most alarming height, no resource was left but to return immediately to Bangalore. A painful but necessary resolution now took place. From the weak and reduced state of the cattle it became utterly impracticable to move the battering train, with several other heavy articles of equipment. These were, therefore, destroyed, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; and his Lordship quitted his encampment near Seringapatam on the 26th of May.

The army now stood in need of a complete refit; and the demands, on this account, for money, for stores of every kind, and above all, for draught and carriage cattle, rendered it a task of peculiar magnitude and importance. Lord Cornwallis himself seemed fully aware of its extent; and, in addressing the Madras government upon this occasion, after stating the severe distresses to which the army had been exposed, and the urgency of its present wants, he judged it expedient to charge that government, upon its responsibility, with the execution of a measure on which the fate of war now so essentially depended.

Happily, at this period, a very material improvement had taken place in the internal

resources of the Presidency. For some time past the government had been able, from its own proper means, to bear so large a proportion of the whole burthen of the war, that a considerable part of the pecuniary supplies which had come from Bengal was reserved, and now ready to meet this extraordinary call. There were then, actually, in the treasury, near forty lacks of rupees, besides a consignment of silver from England, which had just arrived, and which was afterwards increased to £.500,000. The demands of every department had been fully and punctually discharged, and the credit of the Company was so far re-established, that their 12 per cent. bonds, which were lately at a discount of 5 per cent. now bore a premium.

Instead, therefore, of feeling any uneasiness at the serious call made upon them by Lord Cornwallis, the acting Governor and Council entered on their task with all that assurance of success which their resources were well calculated to inspire. In these exertions they were so ably seconded by the zeal and diligence of their several officers, that the various articles of supply were furnished earlier in point of time, and more abundantly in point of measure, than his

Lordship, as he declared himself, had been sanguine enough to expect. Independently of ample remittances of money for the use of his own army, a very large and seasonable loan was supplied for the accommodation of the Mahrattas who had then lately joined him. Abundance of grain was laid up on the western frontiers of the Carnatic; and, in the article of draught and carriage cattle, (the most necessary, as well as the most difficult to be procured,) instead of 20,000, the number applied for, the number provided was 33,000, besides 10,000 sent across the peninsula for the equipment of the Bombay army, which was preparing to co-operate with his Lordship in the ensuing campaign.

The letters from Lord Cornwallis, at this juncture, afforded a pleasing testimony of his satisfaction;* and it was a circumstance

* Nothing is more observable in this narrative, than the modesty with which it is drawn up. The letters of Lord Cornwallis express feelings far stronger than "satisfaction." See pages 70, 71, 72, 73. That illustrious individual took every occasion to do justice to my father's services, and to acknowledge how greatly his administration contributed to the success of this war. He continued to honour him with his friendship to the end of his glorious life; and, in his private letters, many of which are now before me, he uniformly addressed him in the most gratifying terms of esteem and regard. In one of them, dated May 1803, he

particularly gratifying to the feelings of the Madras government, that it was now able to furnish money sufficient for every purpose, without drawing upon Bengal. The relief thus given to the finances of that country, was attended with the important advantage of reducing the enormous exchange between the two Presidencies, which fell, in consequence, from 410, to 375 Arcot rupees for 100 pagodas.

Lord Cornwallis made his second movement towards Seringapatam, in January 1792, and, having previously reduced several important posts for the security of his communications, and taken every necessary precaution to ensure ample supplies of provision, his future operations were crowned with uninterrupted and complete success. It is not within the scope of this Narrative to enter into any detail of these brilliant transactions. Suffice it to observe, that Tippoo, being a second time defeated under the walls of his capital, and seeing no safety but in absolute submission to the clemency of his conqueror, made pressing overtures for

thus refers to the events recorded in this part of the Narrative. "I shall ever be happy to bear testimony to your very meritorious conduct during the time that we acted together in India."—EDIT.

an accommodation. Peace, in consequence, was granted to him on the 17th of March, upon condition of ceding to the allies one half of the territories he possessed before the war; paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, or 3,300,000 pounds sterling; and giving two of his sons as hostages* for the performance of these engagements.

Thus ended this long and difficult contest, on terms of great advantage to the confederate powers; and in a manner which reflected the highest honour upon the talents of Lord Cornwallis, and on the valour and discipline of the whole army under his command. In reviewing the transactions of that period, however, it cannot but be observed, as a striking proof of the difficulty attending the movement and subsistence of great armies on the peninsula of India, that, with all the resources of the British government, aided by powerful alliances, and directed by superior military skill and experience, it required no less than three campaigns to subdue the efforts of a single prince; formidable, indeed, in point of strength, but certainly no match for the

* These hostages were consigned by Lord Cornwallis to my father's care, and resided at Madras, under his superintendence.—EDITOR.

confederate armies, whose united force, in the field, consisted of not less than 11,000 European, and 72,000 native, troops, with 170 pieces of cannon.

General Medows, who had served in his military capacity during the whole war, returned to Madras as soon as peace was concluded, and, shortly afterwards, embarked for Europe. Sir Charles Oakeley now succeeded to the full possession of that office, which he had so long administered as provisional governor ; and the first object of his attention was to improve the credit of the Company, by relieving them of some part of their debts, and lowering the general rate of interest. There were, at that time, outstanding, in 8 per cent. bonds, granted chiefly before the war, 16,51,277, pagodas, and in 12 per cent. bonds, issued entirely since the war, 6,66,463 pagodas. Having the means in his hands of liquidating the 12 per cent. debt, he began by advertising the bonds for payment according to priority of date. Many of the creditors, in consequence, expressed a wish, rather than be paid, to receive bonds for their money at 8 per cent. This was granted in order that government might reserve as large a sum as possible, to be applied afterwards to the 8 per

cent debt. Sir Charles Oakeley hoped, by these means, to effect a still greater reduction in the rate of interest, and he was not disappointed. When the 12 per cent. debt was completely liquidated, he took up successive portions of the 8 per cent. bonds, according to priority of date. Here similar applications were made, as in the former instance, for leave to exchange these bonds for promissory notes at 6 per cent. Some of the creditors chose Bengal bonds, or bills on Europe, agreeably to the permission, then in force, for the transfer of the Indian debt. By granting these applications, and still reserving sufficient funds to pay all who desired to receive their claims in money, the whole eight per cent. debt was soon extinguished, and a sum of five or six lacks of pagodas only left outstanding in promissory notes at 6 per cent.

This operation was effected by a sum of money comparatively small; and its influence upon the Company's credit was so favourable, and, at the same time, so rapid, that, although the interest had been reduced, in the course of a few months, from 12 to 6 per cent, the promissory notes bore a premium as soon as they were issued, which gradually rose to $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Numerous

applications were now made for leave to pay money into the treasury; and government itself received the premium upon such sums as it chose to take at this reduced interest. Here the measure of satisfaction was complete. The resources of the Company had carried them through the pressure of a long and complicated war, not merely without distress, but with a degree of credit rising under the increased weight of the public demands: and, at the peace, instead of feeling weakness from their exertions, they were able to add new efforts for the sake of an object of so much importance as the reduction of interest, which had become, from its exorbitancy, a severe burthen, both on their finances, and their credit.

After the peace with Tippoo Sultaun, the Madras resources were powerfully aided by the stipulated payments of that chief, amounting to near thirty lacks of pagodas. As the war had left no arrears behind it, this sum came seasonably in support of various extra demands, which occurred in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794. Besides the advances made in discharge of the debt, the following specific services were provided for: First, a gratuity of six months' batta, given by Lord

Cornwallis to the British armies serving in the Mysore country at the conclusion of the war, amounting to pagodas 6,16,438. Secondly, a further payment to the Madras army, of pagodas 3,66,377, in consequence of a similar donation from the Court of Directors. Thirdly, the extra expenses of an expedition against Pondicherry in 1793, amounting to pagodas 4,32,608. Fourthly, a remittance of five lacks of pagodas, in specie, to Bengal, in September 1793. And lastly, the advances on account of the investment, which amounted, between the 30th of April 1792, and the 7th of September 1794, when Sir Charles Oakeley quitted the government, to pagodas 20,85,609. The sum total of these extra disbursements is, pagodas 40,01,032.

The peace of Seringapatam was followed by no political event of importance, except the capture of Pondicherry, which took place in the month of August 1793. On the 2d of June, that year, intelligence was received at Madras, of a declaration of war, on the part of France, against England and Holland. Preparations were instantly made for the attack of Pondicherry, and the army was assembled before that fortress, with

every necessary equipment for the siege, early in August.* It afforded a pleasing evidence of the vigorous state of the resources at this period, that the government was enabled to make so prompt and efficacious an exertion, without the smallest strain upon the public credit; and to follow it, immediately, by a remittance, in specie, to Bengal, of five lacks of pagodas.

Sir Charles Oakeley resigned his government to Lord Hobart, on the 7th of September 1794; and, upon his arrival in this country, was complimented by the unanimous thanks of the Honourable Court of Directors for his conduct.

* The Madras government, it will be observed, had the whole merit of planning, upon its own responsibility, and carrying into execution, this brilliant and decisive measure. My father received the intelligence of the war with France by an overland dispatch, and immediately directed the expedition, without waiting for instructions from England. Those instructions arrived some weeks after the place was taken.—EDIT.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of Reductions in the EXPENSE,
and Additions made to the REVENUE of the MADRAS
GOVERNMENT, from the 15th of October 1790 to the
15th December 1791.

REDUCTIONS, &c.	FIXED.	ANNUAL.
	<i>Pag. f. c.</i>	<i>Pag. f. c.</i>
Reduction of expense in the Post Office - - - - -	- - -	6000 - -
Sibbendy Paymasters struck off - - - - -	- - -	3120 - -
Deputy Civil Storekeeper ditto - - - - -	- - -	720 - -
Inspector of Warehouses ditto - - - - -	- - -	720 - -
Reduction in Warehouse-hire - - - - -	- - -	1500 - -
Paymaster at Guntour struck off - - - - -	- - -	1040 10 40
Reform in the Military Storekeeper's department, by which there is an estimated saving in the war expenditure of stores, calculated on the provision of last year - - - - -	- - -	*34,580 21 47
Presents of Broad Cloth to natives on New-year's day, discontinued - - - - -	- - -	1262 27 -
Reduction in the establishment at Tanjore - - - - -	- - -	4968 27 60
Remissions allowed to the Rajah of Tanjore by the late governor, Mr. Holland, now written back to his debit, on the ground of their having been granted without sufficient cause - - - - -	2,60,000 - -	
Carried forward - - - - -	2,60,000 - -	1,03,912 14 67

* The actual saving in the first year, compared with that preceding, (both years of war,) was no less than pagodas 1,73,026 16 59.

REDUCTIONS, &c.	FIXED.	ANNUAL.
	<i>Pag. f. c.</i>	<i>Pag. f. c.</i>
Brought forward - -	2,60,000 - -	1,03,912 14 67
Deputy Commissary struck off, pagodas per annum - 1200		
Deputy Comptroller ditto - 1000		
<u>2200</u>		
Deduct for one assistant allowed - - - 360		
	- - -	1840 - -
Reduction in the Export warehouse establishment - - -	- - -	3000 - -
Reduction in the Import warehouse establishment - - -	- - -	2400 - -
Saving to the Company on a remit- tance of silver from Bengal, by fixing the value of rupees, and bringing them into the currency of Madras. Vide General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 15th of April 1791 - - -	1,00,000 - -	
The charge of 5 per cent paid by different officers of the Company to the Sea-gate register for selling the public stores by auction, dis- continued; but, as the saving can- not be accurately ascertained, no credit is here taken for it.		
Saving, by charging the Commis- sion Fund with certain allowances to collectors which were before paid separately. Vide General Letter 15th of April 1791 - -	- - -	35,000 - -
Saving, by the abolition of the com- mittee appointed to investigate the charges on account of the King's troops, and directing that business to be executed by the Company's Paymaster General - - -	- - -	2076 - -
Carried forward -	3,60,000 - -	1,48,228 14 67

REDUCTIONS, &c.	FIXED.	ANNUAL.
	<i>Pag. f. c.</i>	<i>Pag. f. c.</i>
Brought forward - -	3,60,000 - -	1,18,228 14 67
Reduction in the Chief Engineer's establishment - - - -	- - -	1176 - -
Office of Superintendent of the markets abolished - - -	- - -	1000 - -
Scavenger's employ discontinued, and the business done by contract -	- - -	1300 - -
Civil Storkeeper's employ discontinued, as unnecessary - -	- - -	1616 - -
War subsidy settled with the Rajah of Travancore, to commence from the 9th of January 1790, at ten lacks of rupees per annum - -	- - -	2,73,972 - -
Increase of revenue on the privilege of retailing beetle and tobacco at Madras - - - - -	- - -	30,000 - -
Saving on a remittance of silver from England, by fixing the value of rupces, and bringing them into the currency of Madras - - -	60,000 - -	
Subsidy settled with the Rajah of Cochin, first year 70,000 rupces; second year 80,000; third year 90,000; fourth year, and every year afterwards, 100,000 - -	- - -	27,397 - -
TOTAL Pagodas - -	4,20,000 - -	4,84,689 14 67

AN ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of the Revenues, Charges and Bonded Debt, at FORT SAINT GEORGE, during the period of Sir Charles Oakeley's administration; taken from the Statements laid before Parliament.

YEARS.	REVENUE.	CHARGES.	SURPLUS Or Deficiency of Revenue.	
	<i>Star Pagodas.</i>	<i>Star Pagodas.</i>		<i>Star Pagodas.</i>
1790-1 -	40,90,384	66,03,997	Net Charges - -	25,13,613
1791-2 -	71,89,446	84,88,203	Net Charges - -	12,98,757
1792-3 -	61,90,775	53,50,767	Net Revenues -	8,40,008
1793-4 -	52,75,223	48,13,744	Net Revenues -	4,61,479

BONDED DEBT.				
				<i>Principal Star Pagodas.</i>
April 30	-	-	1791 - -	26,31,000
January 31	-	-	1792 - -	25,89,237
April 30	-	-	1793 - -	17,52,545
April 30	-	-	1794 - -	4,67,303

OBSERVATIONS.

THE two entire years, 1790-1, and 1791-2, were burdened with the heavy charges of a war against Tippoo Sultaun, of which the operations, and particularly those of 1791-2, were distant, complicated, and extensive. The resources, however, were, in some degree, aided, the first year, by the assumption of the Carnatic and Tanjore Revenues; and more fully, in the second, from this source, as well as by the payment of pagodas 14,86,627, in part of the treaty-money received from Tippoo Sultaun at the peace of Seringapatam. Hence the net charge of 1791-2, a most trying year of war, was only pagodas 12,98,757. In 1792-3, the Carnatic revenues were restored to the Nabob, and a new arrangement concluded for his proportion of the military expenses in time of peace. This circumstance, together with a short payment made by Tippoo Sultaun on account of his Kists,* affected the receipts; and the military charges, on closing the war, proved somewhat higher than had been estimated; yet, from a general and considerable reduction of charge, amounting to pagodas 31,37,436, the net revenues this year were pagodas 8,40,008. Mr. Dundas, in stating the finances of 1792-3 to Parliament, observes with respect to Fort St. George,—“ The accounts from this Presidency “ are, upon the whole, very satisfactory. For, although “ the drought in the Circars occasioned a considerable

* Pagodas 4,82,054, instead of pagodas 14,86,260. The deficiency was made up in the following year.

“ defalcation of the revenue in the last year, below what
 “ was expected; yet, in other instances, the revenues
 “ exceeded the estimate; and the charges in general
 “ were regulated with a due regard to economy.
 “ The result, therefore, on the whole, presents a more
 “ favourable statement of the affairs of this Presidency
 “ than many I have formerly brought before the Com-
 “ mittee.” In another place he says,—“ Upon the whole
 “ of this account it appears, that by the improved state
 “ of the Gunttoor Circar, and the accession of the countries
 “ ceded by Tippoo Sultann, the revenues of this Presi-
 “ dency are, at length, more than adequate to its
 “ expenses.”*

In 1793-4, the assumed revenues of Tanjore were re-
 stored to the Rajah; and the *peace* arrangements of
 subsidy made with him, and with the Nabob of the
 Carnatic, occasioned, of course, a considerable diminution
 in the receipts this year. Extraordinary charges, like-
 wise, were incurred in the military department, by the
 expedition against Pondicherry in 1793, and by a donation
 from the Honourable Court of Directors to the army
 which had lately served in Mysore.† But, on the other
 hand, the revenues having been aided by the payment of
 pagodas 10,04,566 in full of the treaty money from Tippoo

* See heads of the Right honourable Henry Dundas's
 speech, the 4th April 1794. The average net charge for three
 years preceding the war (1787-8, 1788-9, and 1789-90), was
 pagodas 7,99,096.

† The charges attending the expedition against Pondicherry,
 amounted to pagodas - - - 4,32,608
 Additional donation and Prize-money ordered
 by the Court of Directors - - - 3,66,377

Pagodas - - - 7,98,985

Sultaun; and the charges, upon the whole, being less than in the former year, by pagodas 5,37,023, a net revenue was produced of pagodas 4,61,479.

With respect to the bonded debt, it must be observed, that of pagodas 26,31,000 at which it stood in April 1791, pagodas 17,06,345 were on bonds at 8 per cent, and pagodas 8,78,760 on bonds at 12 per cent. The rest (pagodas 45,895) was on deposits at 8 and 6 per cent, and the annual interest on the whole debt amounted to pagodas 2,45,712.

Immediately after the conclusion of the war with Tippoo Sultaun, the Government of Fort St. George began to discharge the bonded debt;* and, by payments and transfers, succeeded so far, that, in April 1794, the principal was reduced to pagodas 4,67,303, of which the greatest part (pagodas 3,21,170) was in promissory notes at 6 per cent, and the annual amount of interest on the whole debt was pagodas 30,280. The promissory notes, at the time Sir Charles Oakeley resigned his government, in September 1794, bore a premium of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, which the Company themselves received on issuing the notes.

C. O.

* The definitive treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultaun was signed on the 18th March 1792; and the letter from Madras, of the 25th May 1792, advises that pagodas 4,85,000 of the 12 per cent bonds had been paid off. To assist this operation, pagodas 90,000 only were borrowed at 8 per cent. See Appendix (B.) to the heads of Mr. Dundas's Speech, 25th February 1793.

OFFICIAL LETTERS,
&c.

OFFICIAL LETTERS,

&c. &c.

*Extract of a General Letter from the Governor and Council
of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors,
dated 29th January 1773.*

Par. 53. WE have appointed Mr. Charles Oakeley, who before acted as sub-secretary, to succeed Mr. Goodlad in the office of secretary. His great assiduity, and promising abilities, give us all reason to hope, and believe, that he will not fill it with less applause than his predecessor.

*Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 16th of
May 1777.*

FROM the favourable opinion which the Board entertains of Mr. Charles Oakeley, who has shewn great assiduity and capacity, during a service of near five years, as secretary to the civil department, and in every other respect acquitted himself to the satis-

faction of the board, it is agreed, that he do take charge of the employs of secretary to the military department, judge advocate general, and translator.

Extract from General Letter, per Hector, dated 2d of July 1777.

Par. 17. THE employs of secretary to the military department, and judge advocate general, having become vacant by the resignation of Mr. Sullivan, we appointed Mr. Charles Oakeley to succeed him therein. This gentleman's merit, we believe, is not unknown to your Honors, as he has long since been mentioned to you in a very favorable light; and we cannot but acknowledge, that his assiduity and capacity, during a service of near five years, as secretary to the civil department, render him entitled to every mark of encouragement.

True extracts,

CHARLES FREEMAN,
Acting Secretary.

Extract of the General Letter from the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 11th of October 1779.

WE have also made an addition of 100 pagodas per month to the salary of the

secretary to the Select Committee, which we flatter ourselves will likewise receive your approbation. The business of this department has increased so much, and the attention of the secretary is so entirely engrossed by it, that we are confident you will not think this allowance more than a reasonable compensation for his trouble; and we have great pleasure in observing, that such an allowance cannot with greater propriety be granted than at present, when the conduct, abilities, and diligence of the secretary, Mr. Oakeley, so justly entitle him to a mark of our approbation.

A true extract,

H. A. CRAIG,

Deputy Secretary.

Extract from the Minutes of the Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated 1st of April 1780.

THE President also takes this opportunity of returning his thanks to the secretary, Mr. Oakeley, for his great assiduity, and attention, in conducting the business of his employ, and for the assistance he has received from him during his government.

A true extract,

H. A. CRAIG,

Deputy Secretary.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Honourable the President and Select Committee, to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter to them of the 26th instant, and to acquaint you, that your resignation of the offices of secretary, and judge advocate general, hath been accepted of. The accompanying extract, which I am ordered to furnish you with at the same time, passed as an unanimous resolution of the Committee.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

R. J. SULLIVAN,

Secretary.

Fort St. George,

28th November 1780.

Charles Oakeley, Esq.

Extract from the Minutes of the Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated 27th of November 1780.

THE Committee are extremely concerned that Mr. Oakeley's ill state of health should have brought him to the necessity of resigning the office of secretary.

They are fully sensible of his merit during the long and laborious attention which he has necessarily been obliged to pay to the duties of his station; and as he is reduced by indisposition only, to the necessity of relin-

quishing his employ, as being too sedentary, they are of opinion, in justice to him, and as a reward for his long services, that some mark of their approbation should be conferred on him, whenever a suitable appointment may become vacant.

A true extract,

H. A. CRAIG,

Deputy Secretary.

Extract of a General Letter from the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 29th November 1780.

Mr. CHARLES OAKELEY, our late secretary, having, from ill health, been reduced to the necessity of resigning his employs, Mr. Richard Joseph Sullivan has succeeded thereto, agreeably to your orders of the 3d of February 1780. Our sense of the ability and indefatigable attention of Mr. Oakeley to the laborious duties of his office, you have, in repeated instances, been advised of. We have now only to add, that, in justice to him, and as a reward for his long services, we have a real satisfaction in recommending so valuable a servant to your future favour and protection.

A true extract,

H. A. CRAIG,

Deputy Secretary.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, to Laurence Sullivan, Esq. Chairman of the Company, dated 29th of August 1782.

THE times are too serious and critical to think of trusting the administration of your empire here in any other than the ablest and honestest hands. On this occasion I must beg leave to mention to you Mr. Oakeley, formerly secretary of the Council, and now president of the Assigned Revenue Board. His knowledge of business; his particular talents for it; his temper, and his high reputation in this part of the world, mark him strongly as a man whom it will be necessary to bring forward in any permanent arrangement of our affairs here.

Extract from the Minutes of the Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated 31st of May 1782.

WE highly approve of the report of the Committee of Assigned Revenue,* contained in the above letter and statement.

We hope that the just, distinct, and comprehensive view which this report presents of the late disorder in the state of the public

* This report is given entire in the Appendix, N° 4, to Mr. Burke's speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts; being referred to in one of the most splendid passages of that speech. See Burke's works, 8vo. vol. 4.—EDIT.

revenue of the Carnatic, will evince the necessity of instituting a committee, in consequence of the powers given by his Highness the Nabob to our President on behalf of the Company, for the purpose of suggesting such regulations in the collection, and such retrenchments in the expenditure of the public monies, as are necessary for deriving from the provinces, not in the actual possession of the enemy, some resource towards the support of the war, and the relief of public distress.

: We felicitate ourselves on having chosen for that committee, gentlemen, through whose knowledge, ability, and assiduity, such judicious arrangements have been formed, as promise, even at this unfavourable time, to produce a net revenue to government beyond any former period; and, at the same time, to give security to the renter against causeless removal, and to the inhabitants against cruelty and oppression.

We are persuaded that this beneficial alteration in the system of finance in the Carnatic will be sensibly felt, and acknowledged, by our honourable employers; who, from their intimate connection and unity of interest with his Highness, and from the very large sums in which he stands indebted

to them, and to other British subjects, consider themselves deeply concerned in the state and government of the Carnatic; and whose exigencies, occasioned by their exertions in the defence of the Carnatic, demand, and have a just claim to, every assistance the Carnatic can supply.

We desire and hope, that the members of that committee will continue their care and attention to the progress and completion of this important business; that they will consider of every means by which the country may be improved; his Highness's revenues increased, without injustice to the people; the people rendered secure in the possession of the fruits of their industry, and that industry excited and increased.

We, on our parts, promise to the members of the Committee of Assigned Revenue our most hearty support, and every encouragement which their labours and success deserve.

A true extract,

(signed) THOMAS KINGSCOTE,

Deputy Secretary.

To Charles Oakeley, Esq. &c. Members of the Committee
of Assigned Revenue.

Gentlemen,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the
President and Select Committee, to furnish

you with the inclosed extract of a letter which they have lately received from the Governor General and Council, and to assure you, that it gives the Select Committee great pleasure to find that the gentlemen at Bengal so entirely concur in the sentiments they have always felt and expressed, of the zeal and ability which you have manifested in the discharge of the important trust reposed in you.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(signed) J. HUDLESTON,

Fort St. George,
23d August 1782.

Secretary.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council of Bengal, to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, dated 4th of July 1782.

WE observe with satisfaction the proceedings of the Committee of Assigned Revenue which you have transmitted to us, and highly approve the conduct of the members who compose it, for the great attention and ability which they have shewn in the management of this business. We sincerely hope that the resources they expect to realize from the Carnatic, which are much greater than we

had any idea of, will be made good according to their estimate.

A true extract,

(signed) THOMAS KINGSCOTE,

Deputy Secretary.

Extract of a General Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 5th of September 1782.

Par. 256. ON the 27th of May, the Committee of Assigned Revenue delivered in the report and statement already mentioned, and they were soon afterwards taken into consideration. We request your attentive perusal of those papers, and of our minutes upon them. We trust, that from the able and upright conduct already shewn by the gentlemen of that committee in the management of the unconquered countries, you will draw the same conviction that we feel of the importance of the assignment, and the same auspicious omen of the advantages to be ultimately derived from it.

259. The Committee of Assigned Revenue have, by indefatigable attention, developed the abuses that existed under the Nabob's administration of the revenue, and actually made a reduction of 680,000 pagodas

in the annual expenses of half the Carnatic, and that without touching the revenue appropriated to religious purposes.*

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 20th of September 1784.

Par. 99. BUT our hopes of a success in this, and every other purpose that concerns the retrieval of your affairs, and their subsequent prosperity, are involved in the fate of the assignment. To enable you the better to judge of the grounds of our anxiety on this subject, we send you a separate number in the packet, copy of an account which we have lately received from the Committee of Assigned Revenue, in which are stated the collections from the 2d of December 1781, being the date of the assignment, to the 13th of September 1784, amounting to pagodas 33,09,720; also a corrected copy of a comparative statement of the revenues and expenses of the Arcot province, &c. assigned countries.

100. When you consider that during the late war, exclusive of all our garrisons from Ganjam to Cape Comorin, we kept three

* The reduction of expense upon the whole of the assigned districts, was eleven lacks of pagodas per annum.

armies in the field, whose force together amounted to upwards of 30,000 fighting men, with not fewer than 100 pieces of cannon, it will not appear extraordinary, that, notwithstanding the important aid thus derived from the assignment, our troops are ten or twelve months in arrears; but it is a circumstance that must naturally lead you to reflect, and ask, what would have been your situation without the assignment; and how you would pay those arrears, discharge your bond debts, or maintain half the force necessary for your defence, after it shall have been surrendered.

101. You will observe the collections stated in the account have been made chiefly during the war, and while the western provinces of the Carnatic were in possession of the enemy, or ravaged by his troops. Peace being now restored, and many of the inhabitants returned, and returning from the Mysore country, or places where they had taken shelter, those provinces will again become productive; and, if continued under the management of Mr. Oakeley, and the Committee of Assigned Revenue, we doubt not they will, in a few years, recover their former value.

A true extract,
(signed) JOHN HUDLESTON,
Secretary.

Extract of a General Letter from the Right Honourable the President and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 9th of February 1785.

Par. 74. WE have just received a letter from the Committee of Assigned Revenue, accompanying their proceedings now transmitted to your Honourable Court, with a statement of gross revenue collected, and an account of nett receipts, since the commencement of the assignment.

75. We send a copy of this letter a number in the packet, as it will afford much information to you respecting the present state of the countries under the Committee of Assigned Revenue; and will bear ample testimony to their able management, which has, from the time of their taking charge to the present hour, claimed our perfect approbation. We trust that a review of their proceedings will produce similar sentiments on the minds of your Honourable Court.

A true extract,
(signed) JOHN CHAMIER,
Acting Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor General and Council of Bengal, to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, dated 29th of March 1785.

To the Right Honourable George Lord Macartney,
President, and Council of Fort St. George.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

WE have been honoured by the receipt of your letter of the 17th ultimo. The papers transmitted with it from your Committee of Assigned Revenue, have afforded us the greatest satisfaction. The summary of their proceedings is ably and well detailed; and exhibits to us, with the statements accompanying it, the clearest evidence of the attention of your committee to the interests of the Company, and of the faithful discharge of their public duty, for a period of three years. We are sensible of the difficulties with which they have had to struggle, in realizing the collections of the Carnatic, and in obtaining the increased resources which their labours have produced to the supply of the public necessities; and we have much pleasure in observing, that the opinion which we expressed of their conduct, so long ago as on the 4th of July 1782, has had the good consequence of encouraging them, in aid of the support which they have received from your Presidency, to exertions of so advan-

tageous a result to the public service. The delicacy and propriety of their management, in not interfering with any religious establishments, public pensions, or charity allowances on the countries of the Carnatic, do them indeed much credit.

Wishing to encourage merit, whenever, and at whatever Presidency it may be testified by the servants of the Company, we request that your Lordship, &c. will do us the honour of conveying our thanks to the President, &c. members of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, for their conduct; and, as a further testimony of our particular approbation of it, we beg leave to recommend it to you, to reward the services of these gentlemen with liberality, for the encouragement of the other servants on your establishment who may be employed in offices of responsibility and trust.

We hope that the salary or commission which the Court of Directors may establish for their subordinate chiefs and councils under your Presidency, in consequence of the new Act of Parliament, and, particularly the restraining clauses, which confine such Chiefs and Councils to the authorized allowances of their respective situations, will not be deemed an improper compensation for the labours

of the president and members of the committee; and we accordingly submit to you, whether the same might not be granted to them for the period during which they have severally acted in their offices.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and
most humble servants,

(signed) JOHN MACPHERSON,
JOHN STABLES,
CHARLES STUART.

Fort William,
Secret Department,
March 29, 1785.

A true Copy,——W. C. JACKSON,
Deputy Secretary.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable the President and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 20th of May 1785.

Par. 70. WE transmitted to the Governor General and Council of Bengal, a copy of the report from the Committee of Assigned Revenue, which was forwarded to you by the ‘Pigot,’ in February last. As this report, with the books and accounts that accompanied it, contained the most unequivocal testimony of the benefits derived from the assignment, and demonstrated the great superiority of the

Company's management, we were happy, by the means of such authentic documents, to dispel the doubts which the Governor General and Council had invariably entertained and expressed upon the subject; and you will accordingly observe, by the letter from them, dated the 29th of March, in reply to this communication, that they have acknowledged, in the amplest manner, the force of this conviction, and bestowed the highest praises upon the Committee of Assigned Revenue, for their able and disinterested conduct in the execution of the trust reposed in them.

71. They have strongly recommended, that the president and members of that committee should be allowed for the time they have acted in the management of the revenues, the same commission or advantage that you may establish for your chiefs and councils employed in the receipt of your revenues at the subordinate settlements; and, though we do not think ourselves at liberty to come to any determination on the subject, we esteem it our duty to support the recommendation with your Honourable Court; and to observe that the particular services of those gentlemen, in a very delicate and important trust, entitle them to the highest rewards those services merit.

*Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Governor and Council
of Fort St. George to Charles Oakeley, Esq.*

Sir,

WE have thought proper to appoint you to be Superintendent of the Honourable Company's Jaghire; and, having annulled the appointment of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, we desire you will receive charge of all public papers from them, which have any relation thereto. You will keep a diary of your proceedings, which must be regularly laid before us, from time to time, and we also enjoin you to be very careful in communicating with us on every material point of your duty.

We have invested you with so important a trust, as the management of the Jaghire, from a confidence in your ability, diligence, and integrity; and, as a compensation for the services expected from your appointment, we have agreed that you shall draw the same salary as was allowed you whilst President of the Committee of Assigned Revenue.

We have appointed Mr. Richard Dighton to be resident in the Jaghire, under your directions, and Mr. Landon to be your clerk.

These gentlemen are to draw the same allowances which were annexed to their late appointments.

We are Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

(signed) ALEX. DAVIDSON,
JOHN DALLING,
JAMES DANIELL.

Fort St. George,
18th October 1785.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the President and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 12th of January 1786.

Par. 82. WE have received a letter from the late Committee of Assigned Revenue, accompanying their books and proceedings; and adding some statements and observations which they thought necessary, in order to convey a correct knowledge of the whole progress of the assignment.

83. As this letter contains much information respecting the revenues of the Carnatic, and is an additional testimony of the ability with which the late committee have conducted the important charge entrusted to them, we have sent a copy of the letter, with its enclosures, as numbers in the packet.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Madras, to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, by the Ranger Packet, in October 1786.

I THOUGHT it my duty to bring Mr. Oakeley forward as the efficient member for managing the Board of Revenue, and I am now so well satisfied with his conduct in that, and every other respect, that I do assure you I know not any person whose assistance I would so anxiously wish for at the council board. He is a man of great knowledge in all the Company's affairs; joined to which, he possesses those manners and talents best calculated to forward public business with ease to himself and with satisfaction to others. Permit me, therefore, to recommend Mr. Oakeley to your friendship. You will find him a treasure as a member of this government.

Extract of the General Letter from the Honourable the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 17th of July 1787.

Par. 83. THE Board of Revenue having this day reported to us an account of their most material occurrences since the 20th of February last, we have the honour to transmit a copy thereof a number in the packet.

84. By the abstract of gross receipts therein stated, from the 1st of May 1786 to

the 30th of April 1787, you will perceive
 that they amounted to
 no less than pagodas - 18,22,975 18 12
 The collections of the pre-
 ceding year amounted
 only to - - - 14,72,128 16 78

Surplus, being the increase
 of collection during the
 first year's management
 of the Board of Revenue } 3,50,847 1 14

85. This abstract might, of itself, be sufficient to prove the essential advantages arising to the Honourable Company from the institution of the Revenue Board, which will appear more conspicuous, when you are pleased to advert to the great loss sustained by the short crops of the Jaghire, from almost an entire failure of rain during the course of that season.

86. Under these circumstances it was not possible that the collections could have been increased to so considerable an extent, had not the indefatigable intention of the junior members of that board* been exerted in a very singular degree. The abilities of those gentlemen, when members of the committee of the Nabob's assigned revenue, you are

* The President was a Member of the Council.

already so well acquainted with, that we shall, at present, content ourselves with expressing to your Honourable Court, our hearty approbation of their conduct.

Extract of a Letter from the Board of Revenue to the Honourable the Governor in Council, dated 25th of February 1788.

WE have herewith the honour to transmit a letter from Mr. Oakeley, of to-day's date, requesting your permission to resign his seat at this board.

In forwarding his address upon this subject, we cannot but express our regret at the loss of so able and useful a member of our board; and we should be wanting in justice to Mr. Oakeley's distinguished merits, if we omitted to embrace the occasion it affords us of bearing our sincere testimony to the zeal, diligence and ability, he has ever manifested in aiding the management of this extensive and important department of the Company's affairs.

Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 1st of March 1788.

Par. 88. WE have complied with the request of Mr. Oakeley, for permission to resign his seat as a member of the Board of

Revenue, under the intention of proceeding to Europe.

89. The gentlemen of this board who enclosed to us Mr. Oakeley's letter, expressed their regret on the loss of so useful a member ; and took the occasion of bearing testimony to his merits, in aiding the management of that important department of the Company's affairs.

90. The qualifications of this gentleman during the length of time he acted as secretary at this Presidency, and afterwards, as a member of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, have been frequently noticed by this government in terms of the highest approbation. It therefore only remains for us to mention to your honours, that he has displayed the same useful talents whilst a member of the present Board of Revenue, and our full conviction that his conduct has been regulated by principles of integrity, and a zeal to promote the prosperity of your affairs.

91. Impressed with these sentiments, we most earnestly recommend Mr. Oakeley to your particular attention ; but such a course of meritorious conduct and services will, we are confident, ensure to him some distinguished mark of your favour.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Charles Oakeley to the Honourable the Governor in Council, dated 13th of January 1789.

To the Honourable Major General Sir Archibald Campbell,
Governor in Council of Fort St. George.

Honourable Sir,

WHEN I desired permission to relinquish my seat at the Board of Revenue, I mentioned, that the situation of my family affairs would soon compel me to solicit your further indulgence; and I am now pressed, by the urgency of this call, to request leave to embark for England on the *Manship*.

It is a duty, no less pleasing than necessary, at my departure, to express the just sense I entertain of the honourable approbation bestowed upon my conduct in the several stations I have held under the Presidency. Such approbation constitutes my best reward; and I feel it particularly grateful in that part of my service which was employed in the collection of the public revenues: yet, upon one point, I am happy to justify the favourable opinion of my superiors, by evidence more solemn and conclusive than any that appears on the records. As President of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, I was joined with my colleagues in the management of the Carnatic revenue during the late invasion. The trust became more important from the

circumstances of the time; but having been conferred without any restrictive oath, it is my wish, before I leave India, to afford the same satisfaction for my conduct in that employment, which the law now requires from every collector previous to his entering on the charge. The enclosed affidavit, made for this purpose, comprehends a period, from the 2d of December 1781, the date of the Nabob's agreement with Lord Macartney, to the 21st of February 1785, when I took the revenue oath prescribed by the late Act.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
Honourable Sir, your most obedient
and most humble servant,
(signed) CHARLES OAKELEY.

Fort St. George,
13th January 1789.

Copy of the Affidavit enclosed in the above Letter.

CHARLES OAKELEY, Esquire, in the service of the Honourable Company at Fort St. George, maketh oath and saith, that he served under the Right Honourable Lord Macartney, late President, and the rest of the Council of this settlement, as first member of a committee for managing and collecting the revenues of the Carnatic, then assigned over by his Highness the Nabob to the said Com-

pany, for the support and expenses of the war: and that from the time of such assignment, on the 2d of December 1781, to the time of his taking the revenue oath (prescribed by the late regulating Act) on the 21st of February 1785, he did not demand, take nor accept, directly or indirectly, by himself, or by any other person for his use or behalf, of or from any Nabob, Rajah, Zemindar, Talookdar, Polygar, Renter, Ryot, or other person, paying, or liable to pay, any tribute, rent or tax to or for the use of the said Company, any sum of money, or other valuable thing, by way of present, gift, or otherwise, over and above, or besides and except the actual tribute rent or tax, authorized to be taken by and for the use of the said Company; and that he hath justly and truly accounted and answered for the same to the said Company.

(signed) CHARLES OAKELEY.

Fort St. George,
13th January 1789.

Sworn before me,

WILLIAM WEBB, Mayor.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to Charles Oakeley, Esq.

Sir,

I AM directed by government to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date,

TEA TABLE TALK.

The Walcots of Bitterley Court, Shropshire, who have presented the scarlet cloak worn by Charles I. on the scaffold to the Corporation of Shrewsbury, are one of the oldest families in the kingdom. Descended from one of the ancient septs of Wales, they got their surname through the marriage of a remote ancestor with the heiress of Sir John Walcot, of Walcot, in Shropshire. In an old manuscript the family is said to be of Saxon origin, but as the ancestor who married the heiress of the Walcots was a Welshman—the Lord of Garthland—their origin seems clear enough. The Walcots were seated at Walcot from an early date until its sale to Lord Clive, the hero of Plassey.

The cloak presented to Shrewsbury was obtained by William Walcot, a page-of-honour to the unfortunate King, and who was in attendance upon his Majesty at the execution in front of Whitehall Palace on that winter's morning two hundred and fifty-nine years ago last January. William Walcot was the third son of Humphrey Walcot of Walcot, a prominent Royalist, who suffered much through his sacrifices in the cause of Charles I.

Walcot was, says the *Court Journal*, purchased by Lord Clive, together with a large estate, after his return from India, and it is now one of Lord Powis's fine seats. It is a stately old red brick building with beautiful gardens and grounds, and surrounded by a large and picturesque deer-park in which is a large lake. Walcot contains the famous Clive collection of Indian curiosities, but it is not a well-known place, lying somewhat off the beaten track, though it is not a great distance from the delightfully interesting little town of Ludlow, with its famous castle. The present owner of Walcot descends lineally from the founder of the Indian Empire.

On Walcot being sold Bitterley Court became the family seat. It had, however, long been owned by the Walcots when, in 1738, the place was purchased by the then head of the family, Charles Walcot, from his cousin the Rev. Humphrey Walcot. Bitterley is an interesting old house, by no means pretentious, but an excellent example of the manor-house of the seventeenth century. It stands under the shadow of the picturesque Clee Hills in the south of Shropshire, on the road from Ludlow to Cleobury Mortimer, about midway between the two towns. The present owner of Bitterley and the representative of the family is Mr. John Owen Walcot, whose father, the late Mr. Walcot, died in March, 1906.

Lord Gerald Wellesley, third son of the Duke and Duchess of Wellington, was among the successful candidates at the recent examination for the Diplomatic Service. Lord Gerald is a young man of twenty-three, who has already been a good deal abroad, and besides being a good linguist he has inherited artistic tastes from his mother the Duchess of Wellington. Another successful competitor for admission to Diplomacy is Mr. Birch, a son of Lady Barrington, who also passed at the recent examination.

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BATH ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS.—Mr. W. E. Hardy supplies the following official figures regarding the traffic receipts of the Electric Tramway Company:—

Total traffic receipts week ending Oct. 21.	£725	0	0
Aggregate for 42 weeks to date...	£31,715	0	0
Decrease on aggregate compared with corresponding period last year	£2,283	0	0

and to acquaint you, that you have their permission to embark on the Manship, under the conditions enjoined by the Company's order relative to the return of their servants to England. It is the intention of government to take this occasion of calling the attention of the Honourable the Court of Directors to their favourable recommendation of you in the general letter from this Presidency of the 1st of March 1788, and to which your long and faithful services give you so just a claim.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES N. WHITE,

Fort St. George,
13th January 1789.

Secretary.

Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to the Honourable Court of Directors, by the Manship.

IN consequence of an application from Mr. Oakeley, we have given him permission to embark on the Manship, for England, under the conditions enjoined by your orders relative to the return of your servants. In his letter to us on this occasion, Mr. Oakeley has expressed the sense he entertains of the honourable approbation bestowed upon his conduct at different times; and he felt it par-

ticularly grateful in that part of his service which was employed in the collection of the public revenue ; yet, upon one point, he was happy to justify the favourable opinion of his superiors by evidence more solemn and conclusive than any upon the records. Mr. Oakeley then stated his situation as President of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, during the late invasion ; but, as the trust was conferred without any restrictive oath, it was his wish, before he left India, to afford the same satisfaction for his conduct in that employment which the law now required from every collector ; and, for this purpose, he enclosed an affidavit, comprehending the period of the Nabob's assignment of his country, to the time Mr. Oakeley took the revenue oath in 1785.

Our sentiments of Mr. Oakeley were communicated in the general letter of the 1st of March last, but we should be wanting in a just attention to his long and faithful services, were we to omit this occasion of observing, that he is not only entitled to your approbation, but to some distinguished mark of your favour.

Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable Court of Directors to the President and Council of Fort St. George, dated 8th of April 1789.

Par. 57. WE are no strangers to the merits of Mr. Charles Oakeley, (whom you have permitted to return to Europe,) and whenever an application comes before us from that gentleman to return to Madras, he will need no other recommendation to our favour than he is already entitled to from a consideration of the able manner in which he has distinguished himself in the Company's service.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Macartney to the Honourable Court of Directors, dated Curzon Street, 7th of July 1789.

Gentlemen,

ALTHOUGH I have long since made a resolution to trouble you as little as possible, and still wish to adhere to it, yet I cannot, consistently with the principles I have professed, forbear to solicit you in behalf of the claims of one of your ablest, and (what I hold much higher) one of your honestest* servants, lately returned from Fort St. George.

* Without adopting the invidious expression of Mr. Burke, "honest even in India," the descendants of Sir

Mr. Charles Oakeley, the gentleman to whom I allude, has served you in India two and twenty years, without intermission ; most of the time in offices of high trust, and always with distinguished approbation. He has informed me of his intention of applying to you upon the ground of a recommendation sent home while I was in the government at Madras ; and I confess that I am particularly desirous of supporting his request with all my credit, as it relates to a measure in which I felt an interest at the time proportioned to its public importance, and to the difficulties that attended its execution.

The assignment of the Nabob's revenues, as will appear by your records, was obtained at a period of the late war, when your armies in the Carnatic suffered alarming inconveniences from the want of those supplies which the country was capable of yielding, but which, under the Nabob's management, were totally lost to the public service. From

Charles Oakeley may still be permitted to refer with infinite satisfaction to the epithet so emphatically applied to him by Lord Macartney, both here, and in a former letter to the Court of Directors, (see p. 44 ;) and to the voluntary affidavits inserted in pages 63 and 79. With respect to the earlier of these two documents, see Lord M.'s remarks in the close of this invaluable letter.—EDIT.

the favourable opinion I entertained of Mr. Oakeley's qualifications, I named him, with three other gentlemen of character, to superintend the collection, and should certainly have proposed a commission on the revenues, as the most eligible plan of rewarding their labours, had I not conceived, that in the pressure of a formidable invasion, no estimate could be made with a degree of accuracy sufficient for such a determination.

But when an experience of three years had proved the great and unexpected success of this assignment, and when even the government general of Bengal, in full conviction of the essential advantages drawn from its operation, had suggested the propriety of a more extended allowance to the gentlemen who conducted it, I was happy in the occasion of recommending, and enforcing, what was so perfectly consonant to my own opinion.

The time which has elapsed, instead of weakening, will, I am persuaded, offer to your minds a further argument in support of these claims. It is now four years since the surrender of the assignment; and nothing, I am convinced, can have appeared in the smallest degree to impeach the credit of its management; but, on the contrary, an act, tending to corroborate the proofs already

before you with regard to the integrity manifested in this proceeding, will be found in the affidavit voluntarily made by Mr. Oakeley, previous to his departure from Madras. I cannot find terms too strong to call your attention, not only to this striking evidence, (hitherto unexampled, except in my own instance) but to the whole of that gentleman's conduct, attested by successive administrations, under all the different governors, of different descriptions, whom you have employed at Fort St. George during the long period of Mr. Oakeley's services there.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(signed) MACARTNEY.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated Camp, 1st of July 1791.

THE exertions that have been made by your government to procure a supply of bullocks, and to forward, in every respect, the equipment of this army, claim my warmest acknowledgments, and I am happy to find that they have hitherto been attended with greater effect than I was sanguine enough to expect.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated Camp at Soleur, 2d of July 1791.

I CANNOT conclude without assuring you, that I shall ever retain the most grateful sense of your exertions to refit this army, and that I feel myself fortunate in this important juncture, in seeing the government of Fort St. George in such able and respectable hands.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated Camp, 6th of July 1791.

YOU will, long since, have learned with how much satisfaction I received the letters from yourself, and the board, respecting the supplies that are preparing, the state of the treasury, and the prospects of the speedy re-equipment of the army; and how much I thought the public and myself indebted to your exertion.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated Camp, 4th of August 1791.

THE regard that you have manifested for the honour and interest of your country, by the attention you have paid to the charges exhibited against the Messrs. Hollond, and your exertions to bring those offenders to public justice, claim my highest applause;

and I have seen, with great satisfaction, that the committee who conducted this inquiry have received so strong a testimony of your approbation and acknowledgment.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated Camp, 1st of January 1792.

I RECEIVED, last night, your letter dated the 26th ultimo, and saw, with great satisfaction, that the government of Fort St. George had still the means of assisting me, without drawing upon Bengal. The respite which, by your prudence and good management, you have been able to afford to that exhausted country, reflects the highest honour on your government, and will be attended with the greatest advantages to the Company's affairs.*

* The following extract of a letter, (written in England) from A. Montgomery Campbell, Esq. to William Oakeley, Esq. will shew the terms in which Lord Cornwallis had expressed himself to the Court of Directors and others, respecting my father's administration:—"I am happy to find that Lord Cornwallis has written home in the highest strains of panegyric upon Sir Charles's character and conduct, which has given his friends at the India House very great satisfaction."—*EDIT.*

*Copy of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Government
of Fort St. George, dated 31st of May 1792.*

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter dated the 29th instant; and whilst I request you to accept my best thanks for the flattering terms in which you have been pleased to express your congratulations on my return to this Presidency, I must, at the same time, beg you will do me the justice to believe that I have ever entertained the most lively sense of the liberal support which you so steadily afforded to the operations of the war; and that I have always considered your conduct in that respect as no less obliging to myself than highly useful to your country.

My past experience of your zeal and public spirit, gives me the justest grounds to be confident that no endeavours will be wanting, on your part, to manage the portion of our late acquisition that has been annexed to your government, in the manner that will best promote the happiness of the people, and the real and substantial benefit of the Company.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated 20th September 1792.

WITH regard to yourself, I can only repeat what I have declared every where, in public and private, that your conduct meets with my warmest approbation; and not mine only, but the approbation of your Sovereign and the public at large; and I trust, in the future progress of your life, that no opportunity will be lost to testify it in a proper manner.*

* I cannot forbear to insert here an extract of a letter from Mr. Dundas to my mother, of the same date with the above. “ We are perfectly satisfied with you all, and
“ with none more than your own husband. The line in
“ which great warriors had to walk, at the head of power-
“ ful armies, gave them an opportunity of appearing with
“ most brilliancy to common observers, and the glorious
“ termination of the war does infinite honour to the
“ character of Lord Cornwallis; but to me, the back-
“ ground of the picture is no less pleasing; and my
“ warmest approbation and thanks are due to the merits
“ of those, who by their exertions and vigilant economy
“ administered those resources, without which the war
“ could neither have been conducted with brilliancy, nor
“ ended in the splendor by which it has been terminated.
“ I have much pleasure in writing all this to *you*.”—
EDIT.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated 4th of February 1794.

I HAVE been honoured with your letter of the 24th August 1793, stating that Pondicherry had surrendered to the army under Colonel Brathwaite.

I cannot but be pleased with the promptitude with which your military operations were undertaken and executed; and sincerely congratulate you on their happy termination. I trust that the complete expulsion of the French from their settlements, will afford the most ample security to our Asiatic possessions.

Postscript, 5th Feb.—I add this postscript to inform you, that I have this moment received a letter from the Marquis Cornwallis, dated Torbay, 3d Feb. 1794, stating that he was just coming to an anchor in that bay, in the Swallow Packet; and adding, that when he left Madras, all affairs in India wore a most prosperous aspect. In his letter to the Court of Directors, he has done justice to the “meritorious exertions” of your government with respect to the siege of Pondicherry.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to Sir Charles Oakeley, dated the 4th of April 1794.

I HAVE already acknowledged the pleasure I felt in the account you give me of the flourishing state of your finances. This pleasure has since been confirmed by the advice of your having been able to send near twenty lacks of rupees, in specie, to Bengal, and that your 6 per cent notes were bearing a premium of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

Copy of Sir Charles Oakeley's Minute in Council at Fort St. George, the 7th of September 1794.

I TAKE the earliest occasion of expressing my acknowledgments to the Honourable Court of Directors for the attention they have paid to my request, in the appointment of a successor to receive from me the charge of this government. The state of my health at the time I preferred the application made me naturally anxious to return to Europe with the least possible delay; yet, I could not, under any circumstances, think of quitting my situation until a successor arrived.

The Honourable Court has been pleased to allow me the option of retaining the government for a period not exceeding one

month after the arrival of Lord Hobart; but, of this indulgence I do not wish to avail myself, since the pleasure of putting his Lordship in immediate possession of the office, greatly outweighs every consideration of convenience to be derived from the advantage intended me.

I think it proper to observe, that the Carnatic is at peace with the neighbouring powers; and that the pecuniary engagements of the Nabob, and the Rajah of Tanjore, are entirely fulfilled. The revenue and commercial concerns of the Company are much improved by the vigilant superintendence of the gentlemen in the immediate charge of those departments, and the state of their credit is pleasingly evinced by the seasonable relief which has taken place in the debts of this Presidency, and by a great reduction in the rate of interest.

I cannot relinquish my office without recording the grateful sense I entertain of the honour conferred upon me by so distinguished an appointment. In respect to my covenants with the Company, I am assured my superiors will not doubt the attention I have paid to those engagements: but, when I reflect on the state of public opinion with

regard to this country, the peculiar circumstances under which I took charge of the government, and the nature of the duty laid upon me by the Court of Directors at my departure from England, I think it may be acceptable to them to receive a voluntary testimony from me upon this point ; and I beg permission, in consequence, to record the accompanying affidavit.

My best acknowledgments are due to the gentlemen who have acted with me at the board, for their constant assistance and support ; and to the secretaries of the civil and military departments, for the diligence and zeal which they have manifested in the discharge of their respective duties.

I now request permission to resign the government into the hands of Lord Hobart,* and to accompany this last act by the offer of my most cordial wishes for the honour and prosperity of his Lordship's administration.

(signed) CHARLES OAKELEY.

* The following is a copy of Lord Hobart's Minute in Council, on succeeding to the government, dated September 7, 1794 :—

“ I take the earliest opportunity of thanking Sir Charles Oakeley for the attention which he has so strongly marked

Copy of Affidavit, referred to in the above Minute.

Sir CHARLES OAKELEY, Baronet, President and Governor of Fort St. George, maketh oath and saith, That on his appointment to that station, he entered into certain articles of covenant or indenture with the Honourable Court of Directors of the United East India Company, bearing date on or about the twenty-eighth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1790; and that, pursuant to the engagements therein contained, he hath not directly nor indirectly, by himself, or by any other person or persons, for his use or behalf, or for the use or behalf of any other person or persons whatsoever, save and except the said Company, carried on any dealings or transactions, by way of traffic or commerce, in money or goods of any kind whatsoever: That he hath not lent money to any of the

towards me, by his immediate resignation of the government upon my arrival.

“ I am fully sensible of his liberality in relinquishing, from motives of personal civility to me, those advantages which he might have retained by availing himself of the power vested in him by the Honourable Court of Directors of continuing for a longer period in possession of that office.”—EDIT.

country powers, nor to any person or persons holding any commission or commissions under or employed by them, directly or indirectly, on any mortgages on land or revenues, or in any other manner whatsoever: That he hath not directly nor indirectly, by himself, or by any other person or persons, for his use, or on his behalf, taken or accepted of or from any Nabob, Rajah, Zemindar, Poligar, Renter, Ryot, or any other person, paying, or liable to pay any subsidy, tribute, rent, or tax to or for the use of the said Company, any sum of money or other valuable thing, by way of gift, present, or otherwise: That he hath not directly nor indirectly, by himself, or by any other person or persons in his behalf, made any remittances of money or goods through the channel of foreign companies or agents, or assisted such companies or agents in their traffic, in any manner whatsoever: And, lastly, that he hath not directly nor indirectly, by himself, or by any other person or persons, for his use, or on his behalf, taken or accepted any sum of money or other valuable thing, by way of salary, fee, perquisite or emolument of office, other than and except the following; that is to say, the salary granted to him by the said

Company, with such fees as are expressly authorized by covenants or otherwise, to be taken in his public situation, and the accommodation of the said Company's houses, with the servants, plate, and other articles of establishment usually charged in the civil paymaster's accounts.

(signed) CHARLES OAKELEY.

Sworn before me, in Fort St. George,
this 7th of September 1794.

(signed) E. W. FALLOWFIELD.*

*Copy of a Minute of the Honourable Court of Directors,
dated August 5, 1795.*

“ At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday the 5th of
August 1795.

“ Resolved Unanimously,

“ THAT the Thanks of this Court be given to Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart. for his conduct during his government of Fort St. George.

“ Whereupon Sir Charles was introduced into Court, and congratulated by the Chairman on his safe arrival, who communicated to him the above Resolution.”

A Copy,

J. MADDOCKS,

Assistant Secretary.

* The following documents afford further proofs of that

delicacy of feeling and nice sense of honour to which I am proud to refer — EDIT.

(Copy.)

To Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart.

Sir, Political Department, Fort St. George,
11th September 1794.

WE have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying extract of a letter from the Honourable Court of Directors, on the subject of presents made to your family by the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun, and to acquaint you, that we have directed the Secretary in the civil department to wait upon Lady Oakeley with the articles of which the Honourable Court of Directors have requested her Ladyship's acceptance, as a mark of the Company's esteem and approbation of her conduct.

We have the honour to be,

With great esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

HOBART,

E. W. FALLOWFIELD,

GEO. WESTCOTT.

EXTRACT from the Minutes of Consultation (sent with the above.)

Political Department, 9th Sept. 1794.

Read the following paragraph of a letter from the Honourable Court of Directors, dated the 19th February 1794.

Par. 22. " WE have perused Sir Charles Oakeley's Minute of the 22d January last, on the subject of pre-

sents to his family from the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun, and although we highly approve of the delicacy and propriety of Sir Charles's feeling on the occasion, we cannot consider these presents in the light of those which, from reasons of policy, it has been thought expedient to prohibit; and therefore we desire that the articles in question shall be appropriated as originally designed, and that Lady Oakeley will receive them from the Company as a mark of esteem and approbation of her very becoming conduct, in the attention she has bestowed in making the residence of those young Princes as happy and comfortable as was compatible with their situation."

"Resolved, That the Secretary in the Civil Department do wait upon Lady Oakeley, with the articles mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and that he be directed to request, that her Ladyship will receive them from the Company as a mark of their esteem and approbation of her conduct."

*Copy of a letter to the Right Honourable Lord Hobart,
Governor in Council, &c. &c. &c.*

My Lord,

Fort St. George,
15th September 1794,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 11th inst.; and feel much flattered by your attention in conveying to me the paragraph of the Honourable Court's commands relative to the presents offered to my family by Tippoo Sultaun, through the medium of the hostage Princes, and deposited in the Company's treasury.

The circumstances under which this transaction took place, appeared to require a different mode of proceeding on my part from that which I should have observed upon any other offer of the same nature. To have declined the presents, or even to have shown any mark of concern or embarrassment in accepting them, would have created a

considerable degree of uneasiness in the minds of the hostages and their attendants. But, although I did not think they could with propriety be rejected, I was clearly of opinion they ought not in any circumstances to become the property of my family; and as my sentiments on this point continue the same, and Lady Oakeley's are in perfect correspondence with them, I trust the Honourable Court will not be displeased that we do not profit by their polite intentions.

I am highly sensible, however, of the generosity which has influenced their conduct on this occasion; and beg, through your Lordship, to make my humble and respectful acknowledgments.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

CHARLES OAKELEY.

APPENDIX.

“ The greatest benefit which one friend can confer upon another, is to guard, and excite, and elevate his virtues. This your parent will still perform, if you diligently preserve the memory of his life, and of his death : a life, so far as I can learn, useful, wise, and innocent ; and a death resigned, peaceful, and holy.”

DR. JOHNSON.

APPENDIX.

SOON after his return to England, at the close of those services to which the preceding pages refer, Sir Charles Oakeley fixed his residence at the Abbey, Shrewsbury, in the parish in which his venerable father, its incumbent, was then living, and in the county with which his family had long been connected. He continued there till the year 1810, and then removed to the Palace, Lichfield, which he occupied during the remainder of his life.

His talents for public business had induced Sir William Pulteney, in the most gratifying manner, to offer him a seat in Parliament, shortly after his first return from India, in 1789. He declined it, partly because he considered his fortune insufficient to admit of the increased expenses to which it would have led ; but chiefly, because it would have interfered too much with that happy retirement, which he had then just begun to enjoy.

His strong sense of duty, and the pressing call he received from those who were in authority, prevailed with him, soon after, to sacrifice his inclinations, and to undertake fresh and more arduous public duties ; but no one who knew him will doubt the sincerity with which he wrote to his brother,* (in May 1790) : “ I envy you the happiness of your retirement, and would exchange all my honours for it with pleasure.” A kind Providence having restored him a second time to his country, the object to which he had always looked forward was again placed within his reach, and he passed the remainder of his life in a private station, and in the bosom of his family.

He continued, however, to be an attentive observer of public events ; and in the affairs of India, in particular, he never ceased to take an active interest. He thought and wrote much upon the administration of the Company’s resources in that country ; corresponding with Mr. Dundas, and other official persons, who gladly availed themselves of the benefit of his counsel, and whose

* The late William Oakeley, esquire, of Tanybwleh, Merionethshire, endeared to all who knew him, by his benevolence and urbanity, and justly remembered as a public benefactor in the country in which he resided.

TEL.
LICHFIELD 159.

Dec 19 -

TRENT VALLEY HOUSE,
LICHFIELD,
STAFFS.

My dearest Susy,

I am sending you
enclosed Book No. 1
found at Barton &
think you shd have.
You see my Mother has
marked a page in it
where J. Grant Carter
is mentioned as being "a
great benefactor" when
he lived at Tan-y-Bwl.

all it says about the Baker
is also very interesting -
And that thing I meant of
being over there some
time is the cabin, which
W¹ - gave (as for the star)
some of my mother
in case it might be of
some use to her, to that
to keep or give away -
Nurse has left me this
morning to go to her
niece for Lucas -

Mum so enjoyed having her -
She is a kind person & I feel
more than grateful to her
for all she did for my
Mother during those last
6 years of her life - She is
so happy at the thought
of having a lift after
Mum's little move - I
was a wonderful thought
of - such a help to her
to have a comfortable home
for a time while she can
think over her future plans -

Do I regret & grieve for
Lucas I am so looking
forward to being with him
otherwise it wd. have been sad
Lucas & me without my darling
mother to go & see -
Get her married. I'll hope
you are well & not in the
house for the ball. Hope
to hear all abt it soon -
With my fondest love, &
wishing you every blessing
for Lucas & the happy day.
Always devotedly yours

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letters, now in my hands, afford pleasing proofs of the estimation in which his authority was held. Of his own letters of this class—those, at least, of which copies were kept,—I have selected two, and extracts from a third, for insertion here. The first exhibits such sound views of policy, is so comprehensive in its details, and so replete with information upon subjects nearly connected with the transactions of his public life, that it cannot but be regarded as a very valuable paper by all those for whom the present volume is intended. It was addressed to a distinguished Director of the East India Company.

(Copy.)

“ The Abbey, Shrewsbury,

“ SIR,

“ July 18, 1805.

“ As the general observations which I had the honour to communicate to you respecting the finances of the Company abroad, seemed to meet your approval, I shall take the liberty of going somewhat into detail, with a view to show that the immense increase of establishments took place under circumstances which were supposed not likely to call for such heavy burdens, and that they are altogether at variance with opinions and estimates of high authority.

“ After the peace of Seringapatam in 1792, although considerable acquisitions of territory were then made, Lord Cornwallis deemed it inexpedient to keep up any addition to the former established force on this account. The reduction which had been effected in the Mysore power, the proportionate increase in our own, and the strength given to our frontier by the cessions of Barramaul, Dindegul, &c. placed us in a situation of such security as to render all further provision superfluous. The India minister even thought* that some diminution might very safely take place in our military establishment, in consequence of the advantages we had obtained by the war with Tippoo Sultaun.

“ Under these favourable impressions, the Court of Directors framed a general peace-establishment for the civil and military expenses of India, and laid it before Parliament in 1793. By this estimate, the whole charges of India, including the excess of expenses at Bencoolen and Penang, amounted to £.5,238,125: upon which Mr. Dundas observes, ‘ that he has no hesitation in giving it as his opinion, that the military expenses

* Heads of Mr. Dundas’s speech ; 25 Feb. 1793.

may be reduced below their amount previous to the late year; and, consequently, that in stating the above sum as the total of the civil and military charges, he takes them above what they will, in all probability, amount to in future.'

" It must be remembered, that we were at this time in a state of war with France; and though it was admitted by the same high authority, 'that these calculations might be affected to a certain extent, by the continuance of war; yet, he flattered himself, by no means to the extent which at first sight might be supposed; for he hoped, from the situation of the country with which we were engaged in war, that we were not likely to be much disturbed on the continent of India.' And this hope, no doubt, was confirmed by the capture of Pondicherry, and the other French settlements in India, which soon afterwards took place.

" 'The charges,' as Mr. Dundas observes, 'were, to a certain degree, increased by this war; since the average from May 1792 to May 1795, owing to the captures above mentioned, and to other expenses connected with the war, was £.5,886,964, exclusive of supplies to Bencoolen and Penang, estimated at £.50,000. But, to meet this excess of

charge, there was more than a proportionate excess in the receipts, which had been estimated at £.6,963,625; whereas their real amount was, £.8,188,717; and the actual surplus revenue, on the average of three years, was £.2,301,753, instead of £.1,725,500, which was the estimate of 1793.'

“ Keeping in view the respectable authorities above quoted, with regard to the charges, I have endeavoured to trace, as far as my materials will permit, what additional expenses of a *permanent* nature occurred, which were unforeseen at the time these opinions were formed. The most material of these seem to have been, some new establishments for the adawluts and police in Bengal, amounting, as far as I can judge, to about ten lacks of rupees, or £.100,000; an increase to the military expense, in consequence of the new arrangements of 1796, which were supposed by Mr. Dundas to cost, upon rather a high estimate, £.400,000 per annum; an increase also of pay to European soldiers, in consequence of a similar augmentation at home; and some addition at the same time made to the pay of the native officers and sepoy at Madras. What these expenses amounted to, I have no means of

judging, but I will take them at £.100,000. Thus, upon the establishment framed according to the extent of our territory at the peace of Seringapatam, and deemed sufficient to meet every contingency of our political state in 1793, the ordinary or permanent expense ought not, with the additions above mentioned, much to have exceeded £.5,838,125.

“ The actual expense, I am aware, began to increase very fast from the year 1795, when it was thought expedient to employ the resources of the Company in foreign and expensive expeditions against our national enemies, and to abandon the idea which seems to have prevailed in 1793, of confining our views, in a national war, to the defence of the continent of India. Had the object been so confined, or extended only to the possession of such of the Dutch settlements as might have been dangerous to us, if seized by the French, the increase of expense could not, as Mr. Dundas observed, have been material. But these expeditions were so numerous and expensive, as to consume the whole of that surplus which was meant to be reserved for the sole purposes of defence, and employed in the interim for the provision of investments, and the diminution of the Company’s debts.

“ The effect of this policy appeared soon after, in the pecuniary difficulties experienced at the moment when it became necessary to prepare for resisting the threatened attack of Tippoo Sultaun. By great exertions and sacrifices of interests, these difficulties were happily surmounted, and a prospect opened of relief, from the conquest of Mysore, and the subsidiary treaty concluded at Hydrabad. The augmentation of resource produced by both events, was calculated at pagodas 17,12,623, with a probability of an increase which was expected to raise it to pagodas 25,43,680.

“ Marquis Wellesley observes,* that ‘ against these acquisitions must be placed the expense of whatever addition it may be found necessary to make to the military force, either in consequence of the extension of territory, or of the subsidiary engagements contracted with the Nizam, and with the Rajah of Mysore.’ His Lordship then goes on, ‘ The subsidiary force at Hydrabad must be considered as a part of your efficient strength, prepared for your service on any emergency, and ready to aid you in any future war, as it has done in the last. It does not appear to

* Letter of 3 Aug. 1799.

me probable that it will be necessary to make any considerable addition to the establishment at Fort St. George, in consequence of the treaty of Hyderabad ; nor do I apprehend that the requisite increase of that establishment, and of the army at Bombay, in consequence of the two treaties, annexed to this dispatch, will bear any proportion to the increase of your revenue and resources ; for it must never be forgotten, that while your territory has been extended, your frontier has been contracted and strengthened, your principal enemy utterly destroyed, and an ally and dependant of the Company established on the throne.'

" The former part of this opinion speaks of some additional force as being probably necessary, but the latter seems rather to imply a contrary belief, and certainly the advantages said to have been acquired by the war would justify a conclusion in favour of a decrease of force, proportionate to the increase of security which that measure had produced.

" Thus, if we allow the weight which is due to the highest authorities in our Indian government, it will be difficult to conceive that a necessity existed either before or since the conquest of Mysore, of making any ma-

terial addition to the military establishments. It appears, however, on comparing the expenses of this branch, according to the *Peace* estimate laid before Parliament in 1803, that a very material increase is specified, and far beyond those calculations which governed the *Peace* estimate of 1793, and the subsequent expectations from military arrangements in 1796.

“ The military charges, according to the estimate of 1793, were, for

BENGAL	-	-	-	-	£. 1,380,000	
MADRAS	-	-	-	-	1,200,000	
BOMBAY	-	-	-	-	337,500	
						2,917,500
Buildings and fortifications at the three						} 117,875
Presidencies	-	-	-	-	-	
						£. 3,035,375

“ The military charges, according to the estimate of 1803, were, for

BENGAL, including buildings and fortifications	-	-	-	}	2,159,667	
MADRAS ditto	-	-	-		2,738,000	
BOMBAY ditto	-	-	-		568,726	
					<hr/>	5,466,393
INCREASE - - -					£.	<hr/> 2,431,018

“ Of the particular articles of this increase I have no materials to form any judgment; nor was it my object to show more than that

the increase itself exceeds the measure of those high opinions to which the public naturally looks with confidence, upon all points respecting India. Much of it, perhaps, is owing to new, or augmented corps; much, perhaps, to what is called *contingent expense*; including those depôts and establishments which are kept for the purpose of enabling large bodies of men, with artillery stores and provisions, to move at the shortest notice. Upon this subject I shall beg to add a few remarks.

“ In the dispatches from India relative to the late war with Tippoo Sultaun,* particular notice was taken of the backwardness of the preparations at Fort St. George. This was said to be owing to the dispersed state of the army, and to certain *radical defects* in the establishment; and from these causes, “some officers of approved talents, experience, and integrity, had declared, that the army in the Carnatic could not be assembled for offensive purposes before the commencement of the year 1800,† and that a period of six months would be required for its equipment, even for

* Letter from Marquis Wellesley, 20 March 1799.

† That is eighteen months after the date of the orders for assembling the army, which were issued on the 20th June 1798.

the purpose of defending the Carnatic against any sudden attack."

" Nothing could be more weak, absurd and contrary to experience, than this opinion, which might have been completely refuted by a simple reference to the records. Facts in direct opposition to it appear, in the equipment of the Carnatic army assembled for offensive operations under General Medows in 1790; in the re-equipment of the same army, reinforced with troops from Bengal, when it took the field the next campaign, under Lord Cornwallis, in 1791; in the complete refit of the same army, when it returned from Seringapatam in May that year, destitute of all supplies; in the equipment of a large army for the siege of Pondicherry, in 1793, when the troops, notwithstanding their dispersed state, were assembled before that fortress with artillery, provisions and stores of every kind, necessary for the service, precisely in *two months* from the date of the orders for preparation.

" Every one of the instances above mentioned must have been familiar to the officers who gave this extraordinary opinion, and the fact shows with what caution even professional men should be consulted upon points which involve important considerations with

regard to expense. The real defect at that time was not in the establishments, but in the want of energy on the part of those to whom the first orders for assembling the army were addressed, and in the general distrust and apprehension arising from the state of the public credit and resources. Afterwards, upon a change of circumstances, and a more favourable turn in the disposition of the settlement, all difficulties vanished. The equipment soon appeared in a state of forward preparation, and the Governor General had a practical and convincing proof of the futility of that opinion, which had been given with so little judgment or attention to facts upon record. From the month of November, when the preparations began first to assume a degree of forwardness, to the capture of Seringapatam, was only *six months*, or a third part of the time stated by the officers as necessary for assembling the army, and equipping it for offensive purposes.

“ How far this opinion may have since operated in creating new establishments, I do not know ; but as it is calculated to open a wide field for *contingent expenses*, I hope, if any measures have been taken to remove the defects complained of, that a stronger ground has been laid than this opinion exhibits.

With regard to the want of preparation to meet the successful invasion of the Carnatic in 1780, as much stress has been laid on this fact, I must observe, that ample warning of the danger was given, but the same want of energy and confidence, which appeared under similar circumstances in 1798, prevented all timely precaution to oppose it.

“ That it is better to be always prepared for sudden movements, than to leave any thing to doubt or chance, is an abstract truth which nobody can dispute ; but in carrying precautions to this length, and upon a considerable scale of expense, a government must well weigh its means, since it has to provide for certain and pressing demands of various kinds, besides those of defence. Few states can afford the expense of field equipments in time of peace ; and unless in very particular circumstances, which may be provided for as they occur, I should esteem it more prudent to reserve the money for calls of real danger, which active vigilance will always foresee, and prompt vigour always anticipate.

“ The sentiments I have given upon this important principle of military expenditure, are offered with great deference to the authority of professional men, but not without powerful support from my own experience

and observation ; and though I am far from wishing they should influence your judgment against such authority as may be deemed respectable among your officers on the coast, I strongly recommend it to you, to sift well all such opinions as those which have been the subject of these remarks.

“ The civil charges of India according to the estimate of 1793, were, for

BENGAL	-	-	-	-	£. 1,607,000	
MADRAS	-	-	-	-	368,000	
BOMBAY	-	-	-	-	177,750	
						2,152,750

according to the estimate of 1803,
for

BENGAL	-	-	-	-	1,996,000	
MADRAS	-	-	-	-	1,512,300	
BOMBAY	-	-	-	-	271,676	
TOTAL	.	-	-	-		3,779,976
INCREASE	-	-	-	-		1,627,226*

“ Of this increase a considerable part is owing to new judicial establishments at the different presidencies, to charges of collection, stipends, and appointments in the conquered countries, and in the Carnatic and Tanjore provinces, in consequence of

* INCREASE in the MILITARY CHARGES	2,431,018
TOTAL - - - -	4,058,244

the agreements by which those provinces are brought under the dominion of the Company. In so wide a range of expense, comprehending many new articles, it would be great presumption in me, and especially with such imperfect materials as I possess, to form any opinion whatever as to the principle observed in regulating the quantum of allowances or establishments in the various branches which fall under the head of *civil charges*; it certainly does not, any more than in the military charges, correspond with the actual circumstances of the Company's situation, though the charges themselves may not perhaps be unsuitable to the particular services for which they are made. It is impossible, however, not to remark the growing contingency of *Durbar charges*; and I observe, at Madras in particular, a sum, under the head of *Governor's Office, Durbar Charges, &c.* amounting to about pagodas 90,000 per annum, which is altogether new since my time.

“ What is most alarming in the view of our India establishments is, that they baffle all expectation and promise. While wars of any kind exist, these are urged and admitted as a sufficient plea for embarrassments in the finances, but hopes are justly entertained of

ample relief at the moment of peace ; yet in the peace estimate itself, no retrenchments appear, at all adequate to the burdens for which provision is to be made. Under these circumstances, if it be practicable, I should think it wise, to set apart resources sufficient to meet the Company's incumbrances, and to apportion the rest among the different presidencies, according to their respective necessities. To relieve Bengal from the weight of other establishments, continually pressing upon her in peace as well as war, is a point of the first importance. This can only be effected by limiting the expenses of the settlement within certain bounds, and making the *stewardship* of those entrusted with your interests the chief object of attention and regard.

“ I have now, Sir, with more zeal perhaps than judgment, communicated every idea that occurs to me relative to India, which, as you justly observe, under its present embarrassments, offers considerations of not less moment to the nation at large, than to the welfare and existence of the Company itself.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c,

“ CHARLES OAKELEY.”

The letter which follows was addressed to a gentleman filling a high official station. It was written nineteen years after the former, and I select it as exhibiting the unimpaired vigour of his mind, and the unabated interest he took in the affairs of India, in the *seventy-fourth year of his age*.

(Copy.)

“ Palace, Lichfield,

“ Dear Sir,

“ August 28, 1824.

“ I LATELY saw in the New Times paper a general statement of the revenues and expenses of our Indian empire for the year 1821-22, said to have been taken from a printed report laid before the House of Commons.

“ By this statement it appears, that the net surplus revenue amounts to £.1,927,263, which I understand is little more than sufficient to defray the political expenses annually incurred in this country, on account of India, in time of peace.

“ If the whole income be thus absorbed, what ground have we to stand upon, in the event of any new disturbances in that quarter? An extensive empire, reaching from the Barrampooter to the Indus, and from Cape Comorin to Hurdwar, requires a very

large surplus revenue to support the various contingencies to which it is exposed. We know, from sad experience, how liable a territorial revenue is to failure, from drought and other accidents, in time of peace ; but in time of war, and particularly a war of invasion, we have two instances in the invasions of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally in 1767* and 1780, of such dreadful devastation and pecuniary distress as had nearly terminated in a total loss of the country.

“ To guard against such evils, I never could discover any better plan than that of framing our establishments in time of peace, so as to yield a *net* surplus revenue adequate to a speedy discharge of those debts which are contracted during war. The surplus, after a due provision for this first and most important object, may be safely applied to the provision of the Company’s investment, but cannot without serious injury be diverted to any other purpose. In the year 1792–3, which relieved the government of Madras from the heavy expenses of a war with Tippoo Sultaun, you will perceive by the

* *Vide* Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras, on the danger of wars of conquest and ambition : written, I believe, early in 1768.

documents I lately sent to you, that reductions of expense and acquisitions to the revenues were made to a considerable amount at Madras, even during the war; and that by an immediate reduction of the forces to a peace establishment, the government was enabled to lower the debt of Fort St. George in the *first* year of peace, from 26,31,000 to 4,67,303 pagodas.

“ Hence the general account of Indian revenues and expenses for 1792-3, exhibits a net surplus of £.1,927,698, while the debts, which stood in April 1790 at £.7,056,652, were augmented by the war only to the sum of £.7,857,405, being an increase of no more than £.800,753. This, I think, will appear the most prosperous period of the Company’s affairs in India.

“ An unfortunate change soon afterwards took place. Expeditions were ordered from this country against the French and Dutch settlements in the Indian seas. Large investments were required from India and China, to which the aids supplied from Europe were inadequate, and the deficiency was made up by borrowing money in India, at an advanced interest. Other incidental expenses occurred, and the consequence was, that in the interval between April 1793 and

April 1799, the net surplus of our Indian revenue, which in 1793 amounted to £.1,927,698, was converted into a net charge of £.1,149,341; and that the debt, which in April 1793 amounted only to £.7,857,405, was, in April 1799, swelled to £.12,995,525.

“ This was indeed a reverse, which demonstrably proves the weakness of a territorial revenue, unless it be husbanded and applied with the utmost care and circumspection. It is dangerous to press upon a resource of this kind for any other purpose than that of *strict defence* on the continent of India. If it be open to encroachment for such purposes as those above mentioned, or any other object not connected with *defence*, nothing is likely to remain, either of money or credit, for the contingencies of war. In the state to which the resources were now reduced, it became necessary to make preparation for a new war against Tippoo Sultaun; and in order to raise money, the government was compelled to resort to *decennial* loans of ten and twelve per cent. Happily, the war was of a short duration; and the finances consequently were relieved from a pressure which must soon have proved fatal.

“ Whether it was politic to hold the conquered country of Mysore in permanent

possession, I am in some doubt ; because it destroyed that balance of power, which in earlier times was deemed essential ; and because it was deemed no less essential to the safety of the Carnatic, that an independent power should exist, as a barrier between us and the Mahrattas, a most powerful and dangerous confederacy of states, then united for the subjugation of all India. Mysore, under the able and vigorous conduct of Hyder Ally, exerted admirable strength in her defence against the most formidable attacks of these marauders, renewed from year to year.* Had those attacks been successful, we should have had to encounter similar and unremitting dangers in the Carnatic, and with less strength to meet them.

“ By keeping possession of Mysore, we came in immediate contact with the Mahratta territories ; and by quitting our moderate and *defensive* system, we have been led on from one conquest to another, until we have attained the giddy height at which we now stand. The acquisitions of revenue arising from our conquests, have disappointed the hopes which were entertained of them ; and there is some reason to apprehend, if means cannot be found to create a large

* See Madras Records, from 1770 to 1776, or 1777.

surplus revenue, that India will soon become a heavy and increasing burden upon the resources of this country.

“ I shall now conclude, by submitting this imperfect sketch, with all deference, to your better judgment, and assuring you that

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ With great esteem,

“ Your faithful and obedient Servant,

“ CHARLES OAKELEY.”

THE following are highly interesting Extracts from a long letter, which he addressed to a Noble Lord, in the year 1806 :

* * * * *

“ In viewing the nature of this great and complicated concern, it must strike every observer, that an empire of such magnitude, so distant from the controlling power, and so limited in point of pecuniary resources, cannot subsist but by the exercise of a constant, powerful, and unremitting caution. That system, therefore, which tends most to the preservation of peace, and which is best calculated to fix, simplify, and restrain all expenses within the bounds of a rigid economy, is not only expedient but absolutely

indispensable. The slightest deviations from such principles are instantly felt ; and any material departure is sure to precipitate the public interests into the most dangerous and perplexing situation.

“ Though the territorial grants made by the Mogul in 1765, conveyed large possessions and extensive privileges, they were attended by inconveniencies calculated to awaken very serious reflections. These grants placed the Company high in political rank among the states of India ; but supplied only a *limited*, and very inadequate revenue, to bear them through the multiplied difficulties to which their new sovereignty was exposed. They had, in fact, to uphold the various burdens of empire upon the faculties of a common estate ; nor was this estate even secured against accidents of the most extensive and alarming nature. The failure of entire crops from drought or inundation, is no singular event in India ; and the incursions of cavalry during war, frequently cause a material diminution of pecuniary resources at that critical moment, when the demand for them is most urgent. Hence the calls to economy are incessant. It is the source of all legitimate credit, and must be considered, in respect to India, as the basis upon which

that immense fabric principally rests, and without which it can hardly be maintained beyond a very few years.

“ The Company themselves seem to have been early aware of the radical defect which accompanied their grants, and prepared, I think, with great prudence, to meet it. They began by setting apart a certain portion of the revenue for extraordinary demands, and allotting the rest among their necessary establishments, civil and military. The sum so set apart or reserved, amounted at first to about *one million* sterling. As this sum could not be deposited at once, but was to accumulate from the current collections, in various hands, and in various places, it became necessary to guard it, by strong provisions, against all unnecessary encroachment. For this purpose, the several branches of expense in time of peace were ascertained, and limited. Little could be afforded under the head of contingencies; and no permanent addition to the expense, however small, could be made without the previous sanction of the Court of Directors.

“ The governments abroad were stimulated by every motive of responsibility, of credit, and even of personal ease, to confine their disbursements within the prescribed bounds.

Any considerable excess of expense, besides the marked disapprobation which followed, was sure to produce some immediate and very sensible inconvenience to the parties who incurred it. They found themselves obliged to trespass upon the reserved fund ; to borrow money at high interest ; or to draw bills on the Court of Directors ; all which were forbidden means, and only to be justified under the pressure of war, or some other great emergency.

“ Your Lordship will perceive in these restrictions such powerful and efficient checks, as were well calculated to attain the object in view. So successful did they prove, that, notwithstanding the Company were involved in many long and burdensome wars, and at one period, from 1778 to 1784, had to sustain successive and multiplied contests with the Mahrattas, with Hyder Ally Cawn, and with a formidable French force, under the command of M. Bussy ; yet, by the efforts of a vigorous economy, they were able to surmount these heavy burdens in a degree which is hardly to be credited. Infinite difficulty and distress indeed were experienced in the course of such trials ; and particularly in that severe struggle which lasted six years, and terminated in 1784. But it is remarkable, that

although it appears, upon finally settling the accounts of this war in 1787, the debt was then raised to £.9,264,016; yet the clear surplus revenue of the following year, 1787-8, after providing for interest and every other expense, was no less than £.1,035,417.

“From this period till the year 1793, when the Company’s charter expired, their affairs improved considerably, under the government of my distinguished and lamented friend, the late Marquis Cornwallis. It may not be foreign, perhaps, to the object of this communication, to state the progress of that improvement. In April 1783, the debt was reduced, by payments and transfers, to £.7,622,156; and in April 1789, it stood at £.7,604,754, while the surplus revenue had increased to £.1,414,028. In this year, Tippoo Saltaun betrayed his hostile design upon the Rajah of Travancore, and preparations being made to counteract it, the surplus revenue was by such expense reduced, in 1789-90, to £.1,145,189. The debt, however, had been diminished, chiefly by transfers, and stood in April 1790 at only £.6,501,385.

“The war which followed Tippoo’s unprovoked attack upon Travancore continued three campaigns, and was carried on by dis-

tant and extensive operations in the Mysore country. The debt, at the close of it in 1792, was raised to £.9,084,550 ; but on the other hand, from a great reduction of establishments, and a considerable pecuniary acquisition obtained by the peace, the clear surplus revenue in 1792-3, was no less than £.1,927,698 ; while the debt was reduced, by payments and transfers, to £.7,857,404. In 1793-4, though India now became involved in the national war with France, and sustained the extraordinary expense of an expedition against Pondicherry, and of a large donation to the army which had served in Mysore, the surplus revenue amounted to £.1,654,852, while the debt was still further reduced to £.7,305,462. Another essential improvement appeared at this period : the credit of the Company stood so high, that their servants abroad were enabled to lower the rate of interest from 12 to 6 per cent ; and the government at Madras had the satisfaction of reducing the bond debt at that presidency from £.1,035,694 (at which it stood in January 1792) to £186,921, its amount on the 30th April 1794 ; and of seeing, at the same time, the Company's notes, at the reduced interest of 6 per cent, bearing a premium of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

“ Here the Company’s charter closed ; and it cannot be denied, that their affairs in India had surmounted an arduous trial of near thirty years, not merely without loss, but with an accession of strength and improvement in all the branches, political, revenue, and commercial.

“ With your Lordship’s permission, I shall now take the liberty of pointing out, according to the best of my judgment, but with great deference, the principal causes of those pecuniary difficulties under which they labour at present, and which had their commencement very soon after the new charter was granted.

“ The first cause which seems to have produced a serious effect upon the credit and resources of India, arose from military expeditions undertaken for the purpose of reducing the islands and settlements of our European enemies in the Indian seas. Orders for these expeditions were sent out so early as the year 1794 ; and the number which either took place or were laid aside after preparations for them had been made, occasioned a very heavy and inconvenient expense. Thus, between April 1794 and April 1798, the debt was increased from £.7,305,462 to £.11,032,645, while the surplus revenue, which in 1793–4 amounted to £.1,654,852, was converted, in 1797–8,

into a deficiency of £.194,700. During this period, the pecuniary difficulties abroad were increased by orders to extend upon Indian credit the provision of investments to a considerable amount. This measure, operating jointly with the military expeditions, contributed to augment the pressure so much, that, in June 1798, when it became necessary to oppose the formidable designs of Tippoo Sul-taun, the Company's treasuries were exhausted, and their credit sunk to the lowest ebb. Hence, in order to provide funds for carrying on the war with that chief, the Indian government was compelled to resort, for large sums, to disadvantageous and unprecedented loans, by which it engaged to keep the money for ten years certain, at the exorbitant interest of ten and twelve per cent, payable either in India or in England. This was a new source of embarrassment to the public credit, both abroad and at home.

“ I humbly conceive, that the resources of India in 1794, though very flourishing, were by no means adequate to the double pressure of expeditions and investments carried on upon so large a scale. The country indeed, at that period, was in a state of perfect tranquillity, and the debt very moderate ; but it required all the advantage of unimpaired

credit to provide against future contingencies. With regard to military expeditions in the Indian seas, however reasonable and just it is that the Company should afford all the assistance in their power to the service of the state, yet money is an article which they cannot afford, but in a very limited degree : and when the advance is so considerable as it appears to have been on this occasion, and is procured by borrowing at an exorbitant interest, it becomes a question whether the state itself be not better served by reserving the credit of India entirely for its own defence, than by straining so invaluable a resource for the purpose of expeditions not intimately connected with that primary consideration.

“ The weak and alarming condition of the finances in 1798 stamped a peculiar value on those exertions by which the dangers of that period were removed, and the war with Mysore brought to so brilliant and decisive a termination. But the expenses of this war, though short, the burdens of other wars which followed, and the general size of the establishments, civil and military, have produced such an accumulated pressure upon the finances, as to threaten the most fatal consequences, if some effectual means be not speedily applied to remove it.

“ In order to show the state of the Revenues and Expenses at two distinct and remarkable periods, I shall take the average of three years subsequent to the conquest of Mysore, and compare it with the average of three years subsequent to the treaty of Seringapatam, in 1792.

* * * * *

“ At the same time that the estimate of 1803 appeared, a plan was brought forward for the discharge of the debt, and a calculation exhibited, to show the effect, in six years, of the surplus above mentioned, aided by such remittances as were intended to be made from England. It happened, however, that the whole statement was overthrown by a war, which broke out in the very first year. All estimates of this kind are built on the idea of uninterrupted peace ; and proceed, therefore, upon too sanguine an expectation. The plans of relief leave more to time than time is apt to bring forth. I should have thought a clear surplus of two millions sterling (after providing for interest) the least that could have been proposed under the circumstances of the debt in 1803. As that debt is since materially increased, the surplus should be increased in proportion, because it is only by

paying off large masses annually that the burden can be effectually subdued in the short intervals of peace. Besides, the appropriation of a considerable sum at once in India, would probably enable the government to reduce the exorbitant rate of interest upon the whole debt, and thus greatly accelerate its liquidation. This consequence actually followed a similar operation upon the debt at Madras in 1792 and 1793, and suddenly raised the public credit of that government to a pitch wholly unexampled in the annals of the Company."

* * * * *

The same energy of mind was observable in every occupation in which he was engaged. The greater portion of his time was passed in his study; and one of the advantages of his release from public duties, which he eagerly embraced, was the power of improving himself in that branch of knowledge, the cultivation of which had been interrupted by his early removal to India. Considering the usual acquirements of a schoolboy at fifteen, the long interval which he had devoted to other pursuits, and the period of life at which he returned to classical reading, the progress

which he made was surprising, and a strong proof both of his perseverance, and of his taste for literature. He took great delight in making written translations from the best Latin authors. At one time, he was in the habit of employing himself daily in this manner; and I remember, in particular, his translations of large portions of Tacitus, of Sallust, and of Pliny, done with great elegance and precision. It was his constant practice to engage in such studies with his boys, during their holidays; and we never found him weary or unwilling to return to them, though too often, it is to be feared, deficient ourselves in corresponding zeal and alacrity. Of the literature of his own country he was always a great reader, as well as a most accurate writer of its language.*

With equal vigour he applied himself to the acquisition of knowledge of a very different kind, and to the performance of duties which were wholly new to him, at the period when the invasion of this country was threatened by Napoleon Bonaparte. A regiment of volunteer infantry being formed at Shrews-

* One of his contemporaries in India told me, that whenever an important letter, the report of a Committee, or any public paper, was to be drawn up, it was generally agreed, "that Oakeley should be the scribe"

bury, under the impulse of that loyal and ardent feeling which pervaded the nation, Sir Charles Oakeley was appointed, in the first instance, Lieutenant-Colonel, and afterwards succeeded to the command. The facility with which he qualified himself for these duties, so foreign to his habits, and the effective manner in which he discharged them, was a subject of astonishment even to his most intimate friends. He continued to command the regiment until it was disbanded, together with all the other volunteer corps of the kingdom ; the possibility of an invasion having entirely ceased.

But the most prominent features of his character, and those which it is most delightful to remember, were such as stand highest in the catalogue of christian graces.

His piety was fervent, sincere, and uniform ; equally removed from lukewarmness on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. A very short acquaintance with him was sufficient to shew that religious principle was the basis of his conduct, and that he carried it into all the affairs of life. His character in this respect was so well understood, and, being free from the slightest mixture of moroseness or affectation, its influence was so generally felt, that any disposition to pro-

faneness, or levity on sacred subjects (as I have witnessed in a very striking manner), was immediately checked by his presence. He was a diligent and daily reader of the Scriptures, and, it is almost needless to add, constant in the use of private and family prayer. Attached to the Church of England, not more by education than from a thorough conviction of its purity and excellence, his regular participation in its public services was far from being confined to the sabbath. It deserves to be mentioned, as a rare example, that at Shrewsbury it was his usual practice to attend the Wednesday and Friday prayers at his parish church; and that at Lichfield he was scarcely ever absent from the daily morning service of the cathedral. In fixing upon a place of residence, as I have often heard him say, it was essential in his mind that it should be near the church; and assuredly, there never was a christian who could with greater sincerity adopt the Psalmist's words, "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house."

His benevolence was manifest to all who approached him; and his love of doing good was testified no less by personal exertion than by pecuniary aid, to the utmost extent of his means. He took an active and

leading part in the religious and charitable institutions of the neighbourhood ; constantly attending even their ordinary meetings, presiding or assisting at their boards, and co-operating in every other way for the promotion of their welfare, and the extension of their usefulness. The County Infirmary at Shrewsbury, the Savings Bank at Lichfield, and the Parochial Schools, at both places, for the education of the poor, were objects of his especial care and attention. In the last mentioned branch of charity, and in the system of instruction introduced by Dr. Bell, he felt a peculiar interest. He had witnessed the efficacy of that system at Madras, and, as governor, had patronized and shown great favour to the schools under the management of Dr. Bell,* who was chaplain there at the time. Long before the adoption of the plan in this country, it occurred to him that it was eminently calculated to meet the exigencies of the times, and he renewed his acquaintance with Dr. Bell, by addressing a letter to him on the subject. I regret exceedingly that no copy of that letter was kept, because it had the merit of sketching out the measure which afterwards became national, and of urging it on the very same grounds which were recog-

* See " Extracts from the Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge."

nised by the heads of the Church in adopting it. His sentiments and suggestions were acknowledged by Dr. Bell with the strongest expressions of gratification and concurrence. When the National Society had been formed, and the system recommended by public authority, his best exertions were employed in the cause. He assisted mainly in the formation of the National School of his parish at Shrewsbury ; * and became a warm supporter of that which he found established, by the excellent Dean Woodhouse, at Lichfield. This latter institution had the benefit of his unremitted attention and superintendence up to the period of his last illness, and received a legacy to its funds by his will.

He was the first projector of the Provident Civil Fund, established at Madras in 1787 ; open to the contribution, and available to the benefit, of all the civil servants of the Presidency. The extensive good effected by that fund (which at the present time is in the most flourishing condition, and has been the means of support to hundreds of families,) was a subject of delightful reflection to him ; and his benevolent mind was much occupied

* In this and every other work of parochial usefulness, he was cordially united with the curate of that parish, the Rev. W. G. Rowland ; an individual for whom he always entertained the highest esteem and regard.

during the latter years of his life, in considering the possibility of establishing a similar fund for the clergy of the English Church. This idea was strongly suggested to him by the note to a sermon, published by Archdeacon Nares in 1823, in which a distressing account is given of “the insufficiency of those charitable funds, which have been raised in every county of England for relieving the widows and orphans of deceased clergymen, and, in some cases, even for themselves while living.” For the great evil, to which the Archdeacon adverts, my father was convinced that the clergy could never find any adequate remedy, except within themselves. He saw clearly that in this case there would be obstacles to the formation of a general Provident Fund, which did not exist in the other ; but he thought them by no means insurmountable ; at all events, he was most anxious “that a Committee of Clergymen should be appointed, for the purpose of considering the plan, and stating their opinions upon it.” His own views he put down on paper from time to time, and submitted them, as opportunity offered, to persons whom he wished to influence, and consult, on the subject. But while all acknowledged the extent and urgency of the evil, he met with none who thought the

remedy practicable, or were willing to assist in making the attempt, until he had the good fortune to become acquainted with the Bishop of Chester (the present Bishop of London). That distinguished prelate was so much struck with my father's suggestions, and they coincided so well with the views he had himself formed, that he determined at once to introduce the subject in his charge to the clergy of his diocese, at the primary visitation which he was then about to hold. Never did my father experience greater gratification than when he read that charge. The plan of a Provident Fund for the whole body of the clergy, precisely upon the principles for which he had all along contended, had been distinctly proposed by the highest authority,* and upon an occasion the most likely to give it effect. He was satisfied therefore, that, although time would be required to collect the general feeling of the clerical body, and to consider the necessary details, the measure would now work its way : and so the event has proved. The recommendation of the Bishop of Chester was approved and repeated by other high

* The Bishop states, in a note to the printed charge, that he is " mainly indebted to the kind suggestion of Sir " Charles Oakeley, for the notion of a Clerical Provident " Fund : " and he refers to the Madras Civil Fund, set on foot in 1787, by the same individual.—(*Bishop of Chester's Primary Charge*, 1825, p. 35. 4to.)

officers of the Church, in various parts of the kingdom ; several publications in favour of the principle, appeared ; committees were formed to consider the subject ; and at length, in the present year, a plan, prepared by a committee of clergy of the arch-deaconry of Canterbury, was brought forward and adopted, under the most favourable auspices. At a numerous meeting held in London, on the 15th May 1829, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, it was unanimously resolved, that a “ Clergy Mutual Assurance Society ” should be established ; its object being “ to aid the Clergy in the education and settlement of their children, and to afford them an opportunity of securing a provision for themselves, and their wives and families, when more than ordinarily needed,—in sickness, in old age, and at death.” The two Archbishops were appointed joint-patrons, and the Bishop of London president, of this society, and a large number of contributions to the “ fund in aid ” were immediately received. Sir Charles Oakeley did not live to witness this gratifying accomplishment of his wishes ; but he had the satisfaction of knowing that all things were in a fair train for it : and if, as there is every reason to hope, the measure which has been adopted should prove entirely

successful, how many individuals and families will have reason to bless his name, for the share he had in laying the foundation ! *

* The following extracts from letters to myself, written at late periods of his life, will show that his mind was active in the cause of charity and of religion abroad, as well as at home :

“ I have seen the Second Report of the Auxiliary Bible Society at Bombay, for the year 1816; and as this must have been the last received, I was anxious to know what progress had been made in the circulation of Bibles at that settlement, and how far they were likely to promote the object of spreading christianity among the natives of India.” He then refers to a letter of the Abbé Dubois, published in that report, and, having quoted largely from it, proceeds thus : “ These observations and opinions, coming from a missionary of long experience in his profession, and apparently free from all fanaticism, are important upon a subject, which at present excites so much discussion, as that of the proceedings of the Bible Society. They are such, I think, as cannot fail to convince all impartial persons, that in the distribution of Bibles alone, without note or comment, and without the previous introduction of elementary tracts, the society has begun at the wrong end ; and that ship-loads of Bibles transmitted to India, and other less civilized countries, are in danger of being worm-eaten, before they can be used to any salutary purpose. The same remark will, perhaps, apply strongly to a great portion of the Bibles distributed in this country. Many of them, given away to persons not qualified to read, or not disposed from habit to improve by them, have probably found their way back to the booksellers shelves at half-price, or gone to the pawnbrokers for money to buy improper indulgencies : and many, probably, remain with their possessors, unemployed, for want of elementary preparation to read or understand them. I would ask any

Meekness and simplicity, in the true christian sense of those terms, may be specified as the other features of character by which he was chiefly distinguished. His placid and cheerful temper qualified him, in an eminent degree, both to diffuse and to enjoy happiness, in all the domestic and social

member of the Bible Society, whether he does not think far more good would be produced by giving a Bible to every boy and girl of the national or charity schools, on quitting their seminaries, than by giving them indiscriminately to adults of all descriptions, without any proper assurance as to their fitness to use them?"

(*June 1822.*)—" I have read with great pleasure the Bishop of Llandaff's (Dr. Vanmildert's) sermon, and am glad to perceive that there is a perfect agreement of opinion between him and the Bishop of London (Dr. Howley), with regard to Indian missions. They have both treated the subject with uncommon strength, and elegance of diction. The chief ingredient wanting to the success of this noble cause, is "unity of principle, of action, and "of object." Missionaries of various sects, with heated imaginations and discordant views, must retard at least, if not spoil, the great work of conversion. The plan most eligible, I think, upon every account, is that suggested by the Bishop of Calcutta, in his letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; I mean the establishment of a Mission College in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta, for the several purposes he has specified. Such an institution, under the eye of the Bishop, and of the Supreme Government, would tend essentially to produce that union which the Bishop of London recommends so strongly in his sermon preached before the society in 1817, and so happily exemplifies in the conduct of the primitive teachers of christianity."

relations of life. Few persons, I think, could have been in his company without remarking his humility in demeanour and conversation: none knew him intimately without having constant occasion to admire his freedom from all selfish feeling. Incapable of deceit, he was slow, even to an extreme, in suspecting the evil intentions of others; a disposition of mind which operated, in too many instances, to his serious detriment. He was plain and unostentatious in his mode of living, moderate and self-denying in respect to his personal wants and expences. Distrustful as he was of his own judgment in doubtful matters, and tolerant towards all who differed from him, no man was ever more regardless of the opinions or practices of the world, when they were at variance with his notions of propriety and principles of conduct.

To this slight sketch it only remains for me to add, that the *inward effect* of a life so spent, was beautifully exhibited in its close. From the first warning of bodily decay,*

* This was a slight paralytic affection. I subjoin an extract of his letter to me on the subject, because it is truly characteristic. "Your mother informed you of the nervous attack which I have sustained. It is, I hope, of a slight nature: and Sir F. Darwin assures me that the cure will be speedy. I have, however, been blistered, physicked, and electrified, pretty smartly; but as

until the day of his death, which occurred four years after, his mind retained all its accustomed serenity. The commencement of disease was resisted with success; and it made no rapid progress subsequently in impairing a vigorous constitution: his usual pursuits and occupations, therefore, were only partially interrupted till within about

yet, with little sensible relief. How the disorder came on, is quite unaccountable; for I went to bed in perfect health, slept well, and perceived the change only when I waked at my usual time of rising. My constitution, thank God, is excellent, and was never better, generally speaking, than at the present moment. I have the best, and most affectionate nurse that ever lived, kind friends, and every comfort I can wish, around me. For the rest, my hope is in prayer to the Almighty Giver of all good gifts."

From Scarborough, (which place he was recommended to visit) he wrote to me, at a later period, thus: "Though you must have received very favourable accounts from hence, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding a line under my own hand, to confirm your mother's reports of my rapid improvement. The swelling in my legs has nearly, if not altogether subsided. I take more exercise, eat with a good appetite, sleep well, and am thought quite fit to encounter the musical festival at York. If you ask the causes of this happy change, I ascribe it, first, to a merciful Providence; and next, to the medical prescriptions of Mr. Hodgson, aided by the unremitting care and attention of the most affectionate, skilful, and indefatigable nurse that ever administered to a sick patient."

(It would be very pleasing to me, but not consistent with the scope and limits of this Appendix, to cite largely from his general correspondence with myself and other members of his family. His letters were uniformly excellent.)

five months of his decease, when he became severely and dangerously affected. His patience, resignation, and cheerfulness, throughout the whole of this last trial, will never be forgotten by those who were with him. The faith of the Christian was triumphant. His thoughts were calmly directed to the high and holy objects, which had ever been his chief concern; and any allusion that he made to his present situation, was accompanied with fervent expressions of gratitude for the ample portion of health, and all other blessings, which he had enjoyed. The suffering witnesses of the scene had abundant reason to acknowledge the favour of God in the comparatively slight infliction of pain which he experienced; they had the happiness to see his intellect unclouded to the last; he was taken from them, full of years and rich in honour; and the example which they had always loved and revered, was then impressed upon their minds by the most persuasive of all arguments:—"The end of such a man is peace."*

H. O.

* Psalm xxxvii. 37.—He died at the Palace, Lichfield, Sept. 7, 1826. On the Sunday immediately following, the event was thus noticed in a sermon preached at the cathedral, by Archdeacon Nares, the subject of which was "Trust in God." "We now lament, with human but

submissive sorrow, the removal to a better world of one, who has long lived among us, a bright, yet modest, example of all Christian excellence; of a man, whose perfect *trust in God* has been proved in every part of his life; whom no temptation, however strong, could ever move from the strictest line of conscientious rectitude; whose virtues and whose services were rewarded, indeed, with the present advantages of rank and fortune; but who never, for a moment, ceased to hold himself responsible to God for the use of those acquirements. His name and his fortune were always ready to be employed in the cause of benevolence; and he ever gave as one who regarded his wealth, though earned, humanly speaking, by his own exertions, as held in trust to perform with it the greatest practicable good.

“ Of a life uniformly thus conducted, he has now experienced the utmost worldly reward. Under natural decay, he has been placid and resigned; and surrounded by an affectionate family, he has felt that he was only removing from them to his Father and their Father, the God of all mercy and goodness.

“ Such being, with the aid of Divine Grace, the natural consequence of a perfect *trust in God*, who would not seek to attain it? praying with the repentant prophet, that he also may die the death of the righteous, and that his last end may be like his.”

To the above tribute, rendered infinitely gratifying by a consideration of the place where it was uttered, and of the character of the preacher, might be added a great number of letters, written on the same occasion by individuals eminent in station and in worth. But I shall satisfy myself with the insertion of two, from clergymen, who were near neighbours and intimate friends of my father, the one at Shrewsbury, and the other at Lichfield.

“ Your late father was so excellent a man in all the relations of life; so kind to me and mine when I had the happiness of being his neighbour; above all, so exemplary

a christian, that I always looked up to him, when living, with something little short of filial respect and regard, and shall never cease to cherish his memory with similar feelings. What then must be the feelings of yourself and those around you, who were so much more intimately acquainted with all his excellencies, and who so well knew how to appreciate them? Truly distressing, no doubt, at the present moment; yet grief for the loss of such a man always carries with it its own antidote, and the more you contemplate his character, the stronger will be your assurance that he is gone to meet his reward."

"You do us no more than justice, when you assume that no friends of your late most excellent and inestimable father, will experience more unfeigned regret at his departure than Mrs. — and myself. But it is not his family and his friends alone that will deeply deplore the loss. This city in general will take its full share of those painful emotions, which the sad event is calculated to excite. His unaffected piety, his dignified and gentlemanlike deportment, his open handed hospitality, the zeal and alacrity with which he took his share in conducting our institutions, and the assiduity with which he performed the duties they imposed upon him, will long be held in grateful remembrance by every inhabitant of Lichfield. May my last end be like his!"

He was buried, according to his own desire, in the most private manner, at his native place, Forton, in a vault containing the remains of his mother. A monument has since been erected to his memory in the cathedral of Lichfield, at the joint expense of his widow and children; designed by Chantrey, and enriched with a beautiful medallion of his head (the symmetry and expression of which were most striking) by that eminent sculptor.

The following is the Inscription :

Sacred to the Memory

OF

SIR CHARLES OAKELEY, BARONET,

Second Son of the Reverend WILLIAM OAKELEY,

(Rector of Forton, in this County, and Vicar of Holy Cross, Salop;)

Born Feb. 27, 1751 ; Died Sept. 7, 1826.

His eminent services in India

During an eventful period of twenty-seven years ;

The signal proofs he gave of integrity, as well as talent,

In the various civil appointments which he held there ;

And more especially the effects of his administration,

As Governor of Madras,

Both in improving the condition of the Company's resources,

And advancing the success of their arms ;

Obtained the tribute of public acknowledgment,

And the approbation of his Sovereign.

But chiefly precious to those who erect this monument,

Is the remembrance of his private virtues,

And his character as a Christian ;

Piety, Meekness, Simplicity, Benevolence,

These were the more memorable distinctions of his life ;

They brought him " peace at the last ;"

And are recorded by his surviving family,

With humble gratitude to God,

In whose hands he was the instrument for their good ;

And with perfect reliance on that blessed Word,

Which forbids them to sorrow, as without hope.

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